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EFFECTIVENESS OF THE HEAD START PROGRAM IN ENHANCING SCHOOL
READINESS OF CULTURALLY DEPRIVED CHILDREN.

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REVIEWS, CULTURAL DISADVANTAGEMENT, HEAD START, SRA PRIMARY
MENTAL ABILITIES TEST,

TO STUDY THE EFFECT OF A 6-WEEK HEAD START PROGRAM ON
THE SCHOOL READINESS OF 81 CULTURALLY DEPRIVED CHILDREN IN
EAST BATON ROUGE PARISH, LOUISIANA, COMPARISONS WERE MADE
BETWEEN HEAD START AND NONCULTURALLY DEPRIVED CHILDREN. IQ
SCORES AND CULTURAL-SOCIOLOGICAL-ECONOMICAL STATUS INFLUENCE
UPON SCHOOL READINESS WERE STUDIED. ALL CHILDREN INVOLVED
WERE GIVEN THE PRIMARY MENTAL ABILITIES TEST (PMA), WHICH
MEASURES VERBAL MEANING, NUMBER FACILITY, PERCEPTUAL SPEED,
AND SPATIAL RELATIONS. PRETESTS AND POSTTESTS WERE GIVEN TO
HEAD START CHILDREN. BOTH HEAD START AND CONTROL GROUPS WERE
TESTED AT THE BEGINNING, MIDDLE, AND END OF THE FIRST SCHOOL
YEAR. CONTROL GROUP I (28 MIDDLE AND UPPER CLASS WHITE AND
NEGRO CHILDREN, MATCHED WITH THE HEAD START GROUP BY AGE AND
GEOGRAPHICAL LOCALE) WAS USED TO SEE HOW WELL HEAD START
CHILDREN COULD APPROXIMATE THE SCHOOL CAPACITY OR IQ OF THE
NONCULTURALLY DEPRIVED. CONTROL GROUP II WAS MADE UP OF 126
CLASSROOM PEERS. HEAD START CHILDREN SHOWED AN INCREASE IN IQ
MEAN SCORES (86.56 TO 99.53) FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE
PROGRAM TO THE END OF THE FIRST SCHOOL YEAR. THE GREATEST
GAINS, AS MEASURED BY PMA SUBTESTS, WERE IN THE AREAS OF
PERCEPTUAL SPEED AND NUMBER FACILITY. DURING THEIR FIRST TERM
IN SCHOOL, GAINS WERE IN THESE SAME AREAS. THEREFORE, HEAD
START HAD A POSITIVE INFLUENCE ON SCHOOL READINESS, ALTHOUGH
IT DID NOT ENABLE THE CULTURALLY DEPRIVED CHILDREN TO REACH
THE SCHOOL READINESS LEVEL OF THE NONCULTURALLY DEPRIVED.
ABOUT 100 PAGES OF THIS THESIS ARE DEVOTED TO A DISCUSSION OF
CULTURAL DEPRIVATION AND PERTINENT EDUCATIONAL LITERATURE AND
THEORIES. (MS)

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem

Americans have too long given attention to deprivation in other lands; the time has come for these same Americans to give attention to deprivation in their own mother land, these United States. Such attention to deprivation in the United States requires the same essential elements as attention to deprivation in other countries. It requires recognition of the problem, recommendations for solution of the problem, and remedies that alleviate the present problem of deprivation and prevent future problems of deprivation.

Attention of this sort began in the 1950's with the focus on the problems of minority groups, especially racial minority groups. It later spread to include vast and varied problems of the less desirable "American way of life", and finally was directed toward the problems of "cultural deprivation". Americans became aware that there was another "American way of life" as the difference in the living circumstances of the culturally deprived and the non-culturally deprived grew...as national

wealth and power increased, the difference increased.

Once this recognition was fully made (if, indeed, it is fully recognized now), national leaders set about to provide recommendations for solution of the problem. One such recommendation was the proposed "War on Poverty" that was formalized in the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. However, this recommendation was a long range plan because much legislation had to be passed before ultimate results could be seen.

Thus, attention has been given to the problem of cultural deprivation as far as recognition of the problem and recommendations for solution of the problem are concerned. Attention has been given to the remedy of the present problems of cultural deprivation among children (and the prevention of future problems of cultural deprivation) only as early as the summer of 1965. Thus, the third essential element of attention to deprivation has been the most recent to develop.

The remedy put into action in the summer of 1965 was based on the theoretical evidence that education could be the most effective means of providing immediate alleviation to the present problem of cultural deprivation and the most economical means of preventing future problems of cultural deprivation. It was also based on the assumption that the present system of education is the very area of life in which culturally deprived children are most likely to receive not alleviation, but

complication, of their problems of cultural deprivation. This latter assumption was made because of the theoretical evidence that culturally deprived children do not have equal opportunities to develop their intellectual, social, emotional, and physical potentialities. Because of this lack of development, culturally deprived children move into educational environments with a deficit of cultural development.

Unless some pre-school program intervenes and helps the culturally deprived child to make up this deficit in development, the child is likely to experience a deprivation in educational experience to complicate his deprivation in other life experiences. A good pre-school program which gives attention to the recognition of the problems of the culturally deprived child, to recommendations for solutions to these problems, and to active remedies for the present and future problems of the culturally deprived child is the best means of giving the culturally deprived child a head start in school and in life. It is fitting, then, that the pre-school programs instituted by the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 and put into action in the summer of 1965 should be designated "Head Start Programs".

The basic premises upon which the Head Start philosophy was built were: (1) the school readiness level of a child is associated with his previous living experiences; (2) the school readiness level of the culturally deprived child is

below that of the non-culturally deprived child because he is not introduced to the wide range of living experiences afforded the non-culturally deprived child; and (3) the detrimental effects of cultural deprivation can be alleviated through a constructive program directed toward widening the range of living experiences of the culturally deprived child.

Purpose of Study

The purpose of this study was (1) to determine the influence of the Head Start program on the school readiness level of culturally deprived children; (2) to compare the culturally deprived children with a group of non-culturally deprived children in terms of school readiness before and after participation in the Head Start program; (3) to determine what specific primary mental abilities were influenced through the program afforded those children participating in Head Start; (4) to compare the culturally deprived children with a group of non-culturally deprived children in terms of school achievement (IQ) at the beginning of the first school year, mid-term and end of the first school year; (5) to compare the culturally deprived children with their classroom peers in terms of school achievement (IQ) at mid-term and end of the first school year; (6) to determine the influence of differences in cultural-socio-economic status upon school readiness; and (7) to determine what areas in primary abilities were influenced by the Head Start program in light of cultural-socio-economic status differences.

The study had as its purpose the answering of the following

specific questions: (1) What is the developmental level of the culturally deprived child before participation in the Head Start program? (2) To what extent does the Head Start program influence the child's readiness for learning? (3) What is the developmental level of the non-culturally deprived middle class child (control group) upon entering school? (4) To what extent does the culturally deprived child reach the readiness level of the non-culturally deprived child before and after participation in Head Start? (5) What is the influence of environment on the child's readiness to learn? (6) What is the influence of social-economic class membership on school readiness? (7) What primary mental abilities are influenced by the Head Start program, and does social-economic class membership have an effect on the enhancement of these specific abilities?

Importance of Study

Current literature suggests that culturally deprived children are not able to compete successfully with non-culturally deprived children in their respective ventures into the educational system. It also suggests that such a program as Head Start is needed to help prepare culturally deprived children for a successful culmination of their beginning school years in their educational endeavors (many studies have shown that school dropouts, school failures were traced to unsuccessful competition in the first two years of school). This present study is

important in seeking to identify areas of focus in preparing culturally deprived children for their first venture into an educational system.

This present study is also important because of its relevance to social welfare services in general and social work practice in particular. The broad scope of cultural deprivation is the very reason for the existence of many of the social welfare services that are offered today. These services dedicate much time, money, and manpower to the combating of cultural deprivation, but cultural deprivation still exists in abundance. A study of cultural deprivation and its effect on the school readiness is important to the social work practitioner because he can best help to alleviate cultural deprivation through the knowledge and use of such preventive measures as the Head Start program. In short, this study helps to show how Head Start (and other programs which combat cultural deprivation) helps to determine the welfare of the individual culturally deprived child, the welfare of the culturally deprived populace, and the ultimate welfare of this nation.

Method of Study

An experimental group and two control groups were used to ascertain the "carry-over" influence of the Head Start program in preparing culturally deprived children to compete successfully in learning experience with non-culturally deprived peers

who did not participate in the Head Start program. These same groups were used to evaluate the school achievement of the different groups at the end of the first semester of their first school year in the school system.

The experimental group was composed of eighty-one culturally deprived children who participated in the Head Start program conducted in East Baton Rouge Parish, Louisiana; during the summer of 1965. These children were afforded a six-week program geared toward giving them a "head start" prior to entering the first grade. The program provided the children with opportunities to supplement their intellectual, social, emotional, and physical development through the experiences of field trips, guidance, medical care, learning opportunities under trained teachers, and participation in a creative environment. In short, the program was designed to meet the educational needs of culturally deprived children.

Control group I, composed of twenty-eight non-culturally middle and upper socio-economic class white and colored children matched with the experimental group in age and in geographic locality, was used to establish a baseline representative of the average non-culturally deprived child from a middle or upper socio-economic class entering the first grade simultaneously with the culturally deprived children.

Control group II, composed of 126 classroom peers of the

Head Start children, was used to establish a baseline representative of the average peer in the same school and classroom with the culturally deprived children without distinction as to socio-economic class. This group included all the children in the same classrooms in which the members of the experimental group was attending. It is assumed that children from culturally deprived socio-economic families as well as non-culturally deprived children are included in this group. Children in Control Groups I and II did not participate in the Head Start program.

Four experimental groups and one control group were used to determine the influence of cultural-socio-economic status on school readiness. The experimental groups were composed of children participating in the Head Start program from definable cultural-socio-economic neighborhoods as follows:

Group I was composed of children from a middle-high socio-economic Negro neighborhood. The neighborhood is composed mainly of persons engaged in the professional and business fields. This group is socio-economically designated as High-Negro (H-N).

Group II was composed of children from the same type of socio-economic neighborhood as Group I, except that theirs was a predominantly white neighborhood. This group is socio-economically designated as High-White (H-W).

Group III was composed of children from a low socio-economic Negro neighborhood. The neighborhood is composed predominantly of persons working in unskilled or semi-skilled jobs. All the characteristics of a poverty stricken neighborhood are evident. This group is designated as Low-Negro (L-N).

Group IV was composed of children from the same type of socio-economic neighborhood as Group III, except theirs was a predominantly white neighborhood. This group is designated as Low-White (L-W).

The control group, composed of non-culturally deprived middle and high socio-economic children (Negro and white), was used to establish a baseline representative of the average non-culturally deprived child scheduled to enter the first grade simultaneously with the culturally deprived child from the same experimental groups. Children in the control group did not participate in the Head Start program.

Instrument

The instrument employed to measure school achievement and school readiness was the Primary Mental Abilities Test developed by Science Research Associates for this particular age group. The selection of this instrument was based on its sensitivity to individual differences in a number of fundamental ability evaluations considered to be important in academic success, and on its experimentally demonstrated high correlation with later

school success of disadvantaged pre-school children.¹

The PMA test, following the concepts expounded by L. L. Thurston² and others, provides separate subtest scores for four primary mental abilities plus a total intelligence quotient score. The instrument has been widely used to assess school readiness and early (first grade) school achievement. The areas measured by this test are:

Verbal meaning: the ability to understand ideas expressed in words.

Number facility: the ability to work with numbers, to handle quantitative problems rapidly and accurately, and to understand and recognize quantitative differences.

Perceptual speed: the ability to recognize likenesses and differences between objects or symbols quickly and accurately.

Spatial relations: the ability to visualize objects and figures rotated in space and the relations between them.

In considering the total IQ scores obtained from this test, it is important to keep in mind that the total deviation IQ scores, where the mental age equals the chronological age, has

¹ Science Research Associates, Inc., Primary Mental Abilities Technical Report (Chicago: Science Research Associates, Inc., 1962).

² Ibid.

been set at 100 with a standard deviation of 16.00. Thus, this test and the data presented in this study are not a comparison of raw scores since it is widely recognized that as a child grows older his body of learned knowledge increases. Rather, the scores are derived by considering the mental age of the child as measured by the test with consideration of his chronological age at the time of the test. For example, if a child at the age of five receives a score of 100 and a year later, at the age of six, again receives a score of 100; this is not to be interpreted that he has made no intellectual progress during this year, but should be interpreted that his intellectual maturation is coinciding with or equal to that of his chronological age. Scores below 100 indicate that the intellectual development of the child, depending on the magnitude of the score, is lagging behind his age norm. Conversely, scores above 100 indicate that his intellectual development surpasses that expected of the average child at the same chronological age.

The test-retest reliability of the instrument (one-week and four-week intervals) is sufficiently adequate to substantiate the use of this instrument: the established median coefficient for the total quotient score is .91; verbal meaning, .89; number facility, .81; perceptual speed, .67; and spatial relations, .78. The validity of this instrument in measuring IQ was established as above the acceptable level

through correlational coefficients with grade point averages and standardized tests.³

³Ibid.

CHAPTER II

THE CULTURELESS CULTURE

Definition of Cultural Deprivation

Perhaps one of the best ways to fashion a working definition of cultural deprivation is to first determine what is meant by culture. Honingman defines culture as an interrelated system of parts (the parts being overt materials such as observable actions; and covert materials such as ideas, attitudes, and feelings) whose ends are to help the individual organism overcome any threats to his survival or adjustment.¹ Davis defines culture as including any behavior exhibited which is in conformity with social class, school groups, peer groups, family groups, church groups, or any other human groups.² There are many other definitions of culture in sociological literature, but for the purpose of this thesis culture will be used to refer to all of the ways, means, and ends of human activity which

¹John Honingman, Culture and Personality (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1954), pp. 22-23.

²Allison Davis, Social Class Influence Upon Learning (Cambridge: University of Harvard Press, 1952), p. 2.

characterize the "American way of life" and which have become institutionalized as such.

Within this broad core culture are various sub-divisions or "class" structures. Sexton defines social class as the position which family groups occupy in society and the corresponding tendency for children to remain in that same position through influences in the home, the community, and the school.³ The so-called "middle class" is that class position which is most influential in determining the mainstream of the American core culture. The so-called "lower class" is that class position which tends to have lower status, lower income, poorer housing, inferior educational standards, etc. than the prevailing middle class (that is, the prevailing culture in America).⁴ One might say then, that by definition, the lower class is culturally deprived or lacks the same degree and kind of culture as the middle and upper classes. Riessman makes such a definition of cultural deprivation when he states that cultural deprivation is a lack of middle class culture especially in terms of educational standards.⁵

³Patricia Sexton, Education and Income (New York: Viking Press, 1961), p. 11.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Frank Riessman, The Culturally Deprived Child (New York: Harper and Row, 1962), p. 3.

Riessman would be quick to point out, however, that cultural deprivation is not limited to the lower class.⁶ It may be present in people who hold to middle class norms or people who are considered by the community at large to be middle class. Nor is the lower class without any culture at all; the lower class has a culture all of its own. Furthermore, the lower class incorporates some aspects of the middle class culture from time to time. Riessman completes the distinction, then, by stating that one is culturally deprived when he is practically deprived of the respectability, achievement, opportunity, etc. which comes from the mainstream of culture.⁷

Regardless of the definition one chooses to embrace, the simple fact remains that cultural deprivation abounds in the lower class, both quantitatively and qualitatively. This is borne out by a review of the literature and by an objective look at one's own community. Therefore, for the purpose of this thesis, "cultural deprivation" shall be used interchangeably with "lower class" or "lower socio-economic group".

Description of Cultural Deprivation

Deprivation in experience.--There is a limit to the cultural content that can be taught in formal learning processes;⁸ some

⁶Ibid. ⁷Ibid.

⁸Honingman, op. cit., p. 177.

acculturation must simply be accomplished by experience. In other words, many cultural bits of knowledge are learned through the everyday experiences of life. Education in culture is a by-product of living as well as a result of formal learning processes.⁹

Therefore, it is important that there be a continuity between the cultural experiences of everyday life and the cultural experiences of formal education.¹⁰ If there is not such continuity, one might have difficulty in making the transition from experience learning to formal learning. Such is the case with the lower class child, or the culturally deprived child.

Lower class children enter school so poorly equipped in cultural experience that failure in school is almost inevitable. Lower class children have more school failures, school drop-outs, reading and learning disabilities, and life adjustment problems; as a result, they develop a negative rather than a positive view of learning. Though the schools try to counteract this problem, they cannot do so (or have not done so) for reasons which will be discussed fully at a later point in this thesis. As a result, the school has a detrimental psychological effect on culturally deprived children and handicaps them in their development of

⁹Ibid., p. 181.

¹⁰Ibid.

later perceptions of other social institutions.¹¹ The situation is further complicated in the school when school success is measured in terms of experiences with which the culturally deprived child has not been presented in pre-school life.¹²

Hunt utilizes the developmental theory of Jean Piaget to support the fact that experimental background has a great affect on later capacities for formal learning.¹³ This is because deprivation in background experience makes a difference in the rate at which infants develop behaviorally.¹⁴ Since most, if not all, behavior is affected by what one has previously learned,¹⁵ and since most of the previous learning of children outside the school is cultural in content,¹⁶ those children from culturally deprived homes will bring to school a deficit in cultural understanding and in behavior development. Though these children may be potentially ready for school, they will be pragmatically far from being prepared, due to retarded development in behavior

¹¹Martin Deutsch, "The Disadvantaged Child and the Learning Process," Poverty in America, ed. Louis A. Ferman, Joyce L. Kornbluh, and Alan Haber (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1965), p. 354.

¹²J. McVicker Hunt, Intelligence and Experience (New York: Ronald Press, 1961), p. 1ff.

¹³Ibid. ¹⁴Ibid., p. 64.

¹⁵E. Earl Baughman and George Schlager Welsh. Personality: A Behavioral Science (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1962), p. 142.

¹⁶Davis, loc. cit.

and in acculturation.¹⁷

Tyler makes a similar postulation when he states that at least part of the difference between the privileged and the underprivileged is a result of the deprived environment of the underprivileged.¹⁸ Taba states that conditions which are culturally unfavorable create deficiencies in the skills and mental equipment necessary for success in school, in the ability of children to distinguish word meanings, in the capacity of children to handle abstractions which organize the physical-geographic-geometric characteristics of their environment, and in the capacity of children to sustain attention.¹⁹ The child's danger in beginning school with such a deficit is that he has not been given the tools or the skills to deal with school as adequately as his non-culturally deprived classmates; therefore, he is doomed for failure in school.²⁰ The failure to equip the child with the proper skills and tools to use in school also produces harmful side-effects, because the world divides its labor and affords its opportunities in response to its citizens'

¹⁷Hilda Taba, "Cultural Deprivation As A Factor in School Learning", Merril-Palmer Quarterly, X (April, 1964), p. 152.

¹⁸Leona E. Tyler, The Psychology of Human Differences (New York: Appleton-Century Craft, Inc., 1956), p. 173.

¹⁹Taba, loc. cit.

²⁰H. E. Erickson, Childhood and Society (New York: W. Norton and Co., 1950), p. 260.

effective use of skills and tools.

Whatever the affects of prior experimental deprivation on school experience and on school learning, the relationship is not a simple one. This is because of the various qualitative aspects of each individual child's background experiences (even among the culturally deprived) and also because of the quantitative aspects of cultural deprivation in general.

Quantitative aspects of cultural deprivation.--That culturally deprived children do exist, and in abundance, cannot be denied. In 1960, one of every three children in the fourteen largest cities in the United States was described as culturally deprived.²¹ By 1970, this proportion will rise to one of every two children.²²

Statistics, then, are against the culturally deprived child. One-half of the American families have socio-economic standards which are adequate enough to give their children a head start in life, but even some of these lack other cultural aspects which their children need.²³ But if one were to ignore these families and give attention to only those families of low socio-economic status, the population of the culturally deprived would

²¹Riessman, op. cit., p. 1. ²²Ibid.

²³Robert J. Havighurst, "The School and the Family," Helping the Family in Urban Society, ed. Fred Delliquadri (New York: Columbia University Press, 1963), p. 24.

be great enough. Considering those families of low socioeconomic status, one-half of these parents may have some education themselves, desire more education for their children, and try to give their children this education; but, the other half of the lower class is mainly composed of citizens on public welfare rolls. Nearly all of the children in these families are deprived, particularly in the educational sphere.²⁴ There is also evidence that these families cannot give their children adequate intellectual stimulation, and that even fewer families can give their children adequate emotional stimulation.²⁵

Since a large proportion of these families are from urban areas, it is not surprising that migrants who come to live in urban areas only add to the urban problem of cultural deprivation. The experiential distance, culturally speaking, between the children who live in the urban slums and the school personnel is already great, and with each new incoming migrant group, the distance increases.²⁶ The class struggle is evident in all school settings, but is most easily seen in the urban school setting.²⁷ As a result of this experiential difference and other differences, children from the slums tend to show poorer

²⁴Ibid., p. 25.

²⁵Ibid., p. 29.

²⁶Taba, op. cit., p. 148.

²⁷Patrica Cayo Sexton, "City Schools," Poverty in America, ed. Louis A. Ferman, Joyce L. Kornbluh, and Alan Haber (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1965), p. 235.

over-all performance, have a higher percentage of school drop-outs and failures, and exhibit more problems in general school and life adjustment.²⁸

The culture of the culturally deprived.--Perhaps it might be well to try to determine just what the culturally deprived child does experience in his pre-school life, for his life is surely not devoid of any experience at all. Riessman presents a good picture of the cultural experience of the culturally deprived child, and the following descriptive characteristics are patterned after Riessman's description unless otherwise indicated.²⁹

The culturally deprived are traditional and old fashioned. They are poor readers, poorly informed, easily confused; they fear new ideas, and yet have very definite ideas about certain matters. They feel alienated and frustrated, and hate "big shots". They are not individualistic, introspective, self-oriented, moderate, or overly concerned with self-expression. They see the world as being responsible for their plight and, therefore, are more directly aggressive. They want more from life than they are getting, but they do not necessarily desire middle class standards of well-being; they had rather get by than get ahead.

²⁸Taba, loc. cit.

²⁹Riessman, op. cit., pp. 25-29.

The culturally deprived prefer job security to job mobility which involves risk. They are not overly class conscious, interested in politics, or interested in joining social institutions. Though they favor the underdog, they are often prejudiced and intolerant. Family and personal comforts are emphasized; even when they are able to move beyond the lower class way of life, they do not forsake the old gang back home. They form easy relationships with people which are often characterized by an abundant use of humor.

When they do become interested in politics, they prefer to favor the "decent" guy rather than any particular party platform. They like excitement such as news items, gossip, sports activities, and new objects. Pragmatism rules over intellectualism, and learning takes place in a pragmatic or motoric fashion, which accounts for their difficulties with formal education.

Physical strength and endurance are admired, and masculinity is stressed among males. Masculinity often equates action or performance. This is often a source of trouble in school as they prefer not to perform such passive practices as talking, writing, and listening. Also, boys are often bothered by the fact that the school is mainly feminine in personnel and culture.

Still another factor in the cultural experience of the culturally deprived child that gives difficulty is the fact that culturally deprived children generally prefer to read stories

which concern themselves with violence and sex.³⁰ Needless to say, they are not presented with such reading matter in their early school experience.

It is easy to see from such a description of the culture of the culturally deprived that their norms of living differ greatly from the middle class school. It is also easy to see why children from such culturally deprived environments would have problems in learning the essential facts about the outer world and the experiences that they would encounter there.³¹ In short, the background experiences of culturally deprived children do not adequately prepare them to meet and successfully merge with the culture of the middle class school or world.

Deprivation in the home.--- A description of cultural deprivation would not be complete without a description of the home environment of the culturally deprived, for the cultural understanding (or lack of it) of children is largely determined by the home in which they are reared. In terms of cultural learning, each home must be seen in its relationship to the individual child.³² What is good for the individual child may actually depend on what he is supposed to be and where he is

³⁰Baughman and Welsh, op. cit., 243.

³¹Eleanor Hosley, "Culturally Deprived Children in Day Care Programs," Children, X (September-October, 1963), p. 178.

³²Ethel Kavin, Children of Preschool Age (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934), p. 169.

supposed to become that for which he is meant.³³

For example, there is strong evidence that homes which provide superior background experience give their children a head start in the socialization-acculturation process.³⁴ Gifted children usually come from homes which are in the higher socioeconomic classes and from homes in which the parents are themselves well-educated.

However, children who are born into the middle and upper class homes are not necessarily assured of being exempt from suffering the detrimental effects of cultural deprivation. This is because a good home includes more than the physical facilities, the education of the parents, the social life of the family, and the religious activities of the family; it must also include such intangibles as parental love, parental wisdom, and attitudes taught in the home.³⁵

Nevertheless, it is the rule rather than the exception that culturally deprived family conditions tend to have a damaging effect on general personality development and later school learning and adjustment. The experiences of poverty, pathology, delinquency, accidents, deaths, and other such tragedies begin

³³Erickson, op. cit., p. 73.

³⁴Anne Anastasi, Differential Psychology (New York: Mac Millan Co., 1958), pp. 310, 447.

³⁵Kawin, op. cit., p. 168.

to make their marks on children at an early age when children are not protected from them.³⁶ Usually, these children do not come to know any other kind of life until they enter school, because "...if poverty forces neglect of a one-year-old it will also require neglect of a three-year-old...".³⁷

The tendency of poverty to perpetuate itself is seen in the development and enlargement of slum areas. Here, the problems of housing cause additional problems that accompany poverty.³⁸ For example, poor housing is usually accompanied by inadequate food, low income, and poor medical care. Poor housing usually means that children have poorer chances for success in life. Among Chicago's culturally deprived, there are twenty times as many juvenile delinquents, twelve times as many tuberculosis cases, four times as many deaths from pneumonia, three times as much truancy, and two and one-half times as many infant deaths when compared to non-culturally deprived homes. Poor housing areas lack adequate toilet facilities; therefore, regular elimination may be prevented. Poor housing areas are noisy, limited in sleeping facilities, poor in ventilation, and confused.

³⁶Judith Krogman, "Cultural Deprivation and Child Development," High Points, XXXVIII (November, 1956), p. 16.

³⁷Honingman, op. cit., p. 229.

³⁸M. E. Breckenridge and E. L. Vincent, Child Development. (Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Co., 1955), pp. 189-190.

In short, poor housing areas do not provide for an adequate place for the meeting of the child's physical and psychological needs, for the protecting of the child against contagion, or for the protecting of the child against accidents.

The homes of culturally deprived children, then, are first deprived in terms of physical factors necessary for normal development and secondarily deprived in terms of psychological influences. Culturally deprived children lack the warm, positive atmosphere of family life that motivates and encourages children toward normal, responsive development. Therefore, they tend to view adults as hostile, particularly authoritarian adult figures in the school. Culturally deprived children do not have the opportunity to interact verbally with meaningful persons in their environment, i.e., meaningful persons who have good speech habits. For example, the lower class family discourages conversation at meal times because such times are usually hurried or confused.³⁹ Therefore, the child does not fully develop his ability in verbalization; there is much evidence that there is a direct relationship between socio-economic status and the

³⁹ Esther Milner, "A Study of the Relationships between Reading Readiness in Grade One School Children and Patterns of Parent-Child Interaction," Child Development, Vol. XXII, p. 95ff cited by Anne Anastasi, Differential Psychology. (New York: Mac Millian Co., 1962), p. 509.

development of language.⁴⁰ Lower class homes are also deprived socially, and this is unfortunate as family socialization is a pre-requisite to socialization into the core culture of society.⁴¹

In short, the experimental deprivation of the culturally deprived child begins in his home. The home gives the child his biological, social, and psychological heritage in such forms as emotional support, educational preparation, and value orientation,⁴² and provides for almost all of the child's pre-school experiences. When the home is deprived, the child's cultural heritage is also deprived.

Child rearing in the culturally deprived home.-- Practices in child rearing in the culturally deprived home may be somewhat different from the child rearing practices in the middle class home. Davis, citing a study which compared lower class child rearing practices with middle class child rearing practices, showed the following: more lower class children are breast fed

⁴⁰Dorothea McCarthy, "Language Development in Children," Manual of Child Psychology, ed. L. Carmichael (New York: Wiley, 1954), pp. 492ff cited by Anne Anastasi, Differential Psychology (New York: Mac Millian Co., 1962), p. 509.

⁴¹Talcott Parsons and Robert F. Bales, Family, Socialization and Interaction Process (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1955), p. 303ff.

⁴²Breckenridge and Vincent, op. cit., p. 152.

and fed on demand; more lower class children stay on the bottle or breast for longer than twelve months and are fully weaned later in life; lower class children begin bowel training and bladder training later; lower class children assume responsibility later; lower class children stay up later, stay on the streets later at night, and attend movies more often than children from the middle class socio-economic group.⁴³

Davis and Havighurst citing a study which compares lower class child training practices with middle class child training practices, shows the following: lower class children are breast fed more often, fed more often on demand, and held less when being fed; lower class children are weaned more sharply and given more pacifiers; lower class children start toilet training later than middle class children; and Negroes of all classes begin toilet training earlier.⁴⁴ Davis cites further studies which demonstrate that though the lower class children begin toilet training later than middle class children, both classes complete toilet training at about the same time (except for the middle class Negro, who completes toilet training earlier).⁴⁵

⁴³Davis, op. cit., p. 13.

⁴⁴Allison Davis and Robert Havighurst, Personality in Nature, Society, and Culture, ed. C. Kluckhohn and H. A. Murray, p. 314ff cited by John Honingman, Culture and Personality (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1954), p. 317.

⁴⁵Davis, Social Class Influence Upon Learning, p. 17.

There is also evidence that the lower class is generally more restrictive in child rearing practices than the middle or upper classes.⁴⁶ Maas states that the lower class child does not have as much freedom to talk to his parents, that the lower class child experiences more parental rejection, and that the lower class child experiences more fear of his parents than the middle class child.⁴⁷

However, other studies indicate that the lower class child training is actually less restrictive than middle class child training.^{48,49,50,51} It is probable, in light of these and the aforementioned studies, that lower class child training practices are more restrictive in some areas than the middle class child training, and less restrictive in other areas than the middle class child training.

⁴⁶Baugman and Welsh, op. cit., p. 156.

⁴⁷H. S. Maas, "Some Social Class Differences in the Family Systems and Group Relations of Pre and Early Adolescents," Child Development, Vol. XXII, p. 145ff cited by Anne Anastasi, Differential Psychology (New York: MacMillian Co., 1962), p. 509.

⁴⁸Ibid., p. 510.

⁴⁹A. Davis and R. J. Havighurst, "Social Class and Color Differences in Child Rearing," American Sociological Review, Vol. XI, p. 698ff cited by Anne Anastasi, Differential Psychology (New York: MacMillian Co., 1962), p. 509.

⁵⁰Davis, Social Class Influence Upon Learning, p. 18.

⁵¹Davis and Havighurst cited by Honingman, op. cit., p. 317.

There is sufficient evidence, however, to suggest that the method of restriction in child training is more severe in the lower class than in the middle class. The method employed is usually physical punishment.⁵² When physical punishment is the primary means of restriction in child training, the child may develop aggressive feelings toward the punisher, or toward adults in general. Although physical punishment may be beneficial if not too severe (since physical punishment is of brief duration, is a part of the culturally deprived child's daily environment, and is not seen as incompatible with the parent's love), it does not deter aggression.⁵³ Furthermore, it is highly unlikely that lower class parents, who are often over-worked, can be patient in administering punishment when their own lives are full of daily punishment of one sort or the other.

Furthermore, physical punishment alone does not give the child the opportunity to generalize from one punitive situation to another. Thus, the child is deprived of learning opportunities that evolve out of punitive situations. Also, the child is deprived in that he receives negative reinforcement in his efforts to explore and learn.⁵⁴ And finally, physical

⁵²Riessman, op. cit., pp. 38-40.

⁵³Sexton, op. cit., p. 31.

⁵⁴J. McVicker Hunt, "How Children Develop Intellectually," Children, XI (May-June, 1964), p. 87.

punishment lowers the dignity and self-esteem of the child, and the culturally deprived child already has enough deprivation in his life to have a low self-esteem.⁵⁵ Whatever the implication of physical punishment for the lower class child, the fact remains that this type of punishment is quite different from the discipline that is administered in the school. Thus, the child is faced with yet another cultural difference between his home training and his school learning.

There are also class differences in child training as to the age at which children assume responsibility.⁵⁶ The lower class children develop responsible behavior later than the middle class children. The lower class children do not learn to work as early, but they may quit school to get a job earlier (this is also due to other factors). The lower class children do not learn to walk as early, help their parents with younger siblings as early, or produce individual achievements as early.⁵⁷ In short, the lower class children fail to develop to their fullest potentials in areas of responsibility necessary for later school achievement.

Parents in the culturally deprived home.-- It is generally

⁵⁵Honingman, op. cit., p. 434.

⁵⁶Davis and Havighurst cited by Honingman, loc. cit.

⁵⁷Ibid.

agreed that a child's rearing is greatly influenced by the particular cultural pattern to which he is exposed.⁵⁸ Children learn their cultural ideas from their parents and peers,⁵⁹ since children are a reflection of their parental attitudes, understanding, and skills.⁶⁰ Consequently, children tend to be cast in the image of their parents.⁶¹

In the home, parents unconsciously prepare or fail to prepare their children for school.⁶² Parents must give their children the following: food, clothing, shelter, rest, companionship, security, affection, a sense of belonging, status, a desire to learn to adjust to new situations, and a need to express and develop internal resources. But parents also have an important responsibility in helping their children make the transition from the home to the school. This latter responsibility might include the following: helping the child to learn to be one of a group; helping the child to establish habits of sleeping, eating, and eliminating which are in agreement with the school day schedule, before the child goes to school; providing for a physical checkup; giving the child the social

⁵⁸Baughman and Welsh, op. cit., p. 150.

⁵⁹Davis, Social Class Influence Upon Learning, p. 12.

⁶⁰Sexton, op. cit., p. 106. ⁶¹Ibid., p. 10.

⁶²Breckenridge and Vincent, op. cit., pp. 70, 91, 154.

contacts outside the home that he needs before he starts to school; and supplying a home atmosphere in which the child can re-group his energies for the next day at school when the child starts school.

A final, but all important, responsibility of the parents is to help the child learn the culture in which he must attend school and later gain a career. School is a culture all by itself and when parents fail to prepare their children for school, the children's development is disrupted and the hopes of his early life are frustrated by failure in school.⁶³

All of these ideas as to what parents should do for their children are more likely to fit the idea parent. In the terminology of Deutsch, these would be the parents who are concerned and active in their child rearing.⁶⁴ But the parents of culturally deprived children are more likely to fit Lewis's third description of parents; that is, parents who are neither concerned or active in child rearing.⁶⁵ And if parents of culturally deprived children do not fall into this group, perhaps they would fall into the second description; that is, parents

⁶³Erickson. op. cit., p. 259.

⁶⁴Hyland Lewis, "Child Rearing Among Low-Income Families," Poverty in America, ed. Louis A. Ferman, Joyce L. Kornbluh, and Alan Haber (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1965), p. 345.

⁶⁵Ibid.

who are concerned about child rearing but not active in child rearing.⁶⁶

One reason for the lack of concern or activity on the part of parents of culturally deprived children is that the parents themselves are culturally deprived and are cut off from the mainstream of opportunity in society.⁶⁷ Not only are these parents un-educated themselves as to cultural understanding, they are also lacking enough understanding to help their children to go much further than they themselves went in school.⁶⁸ These parents are often embarrassed about their own lack of education and social status, and thus, they may feel uncomfortable, unpleasant, and self-conscious about their general social behavior. For these reasons and others, parents of culturally deprived children do not join many social institutions and do not participate in many social activities.⁶⁹ They are often afraid to visit the school because they fear that the teacher will be critical of their social behavior or critical of their child's behavior.

The parent of the culturally deprived child is also unequipped to help the child in his educational endeavors outside the school setting. For example, when the child suffers reading

⁶⁶Ibid., ⁶⁷Hosley, op. cit., p. 179.

⁶⁸Taba, op. cit., p. 159.

⁶⁹Sexton, op. cit., pp. 108-109.

disabilities, the parent is often unable to help him,⁷⁰ perhaps due to the parent's own reading disability. Furthermore, the parent is not equipped to make use of community resources outside the public school setting. For example, if the child has a reading disability due to the lack of books in the home (and a home environment that is not conducive to reading when books are available), the parent cannot teach the child to use the public library because the parent does not know how to use it himself.

A particular problem arises when discussing lower class parents and child rearing practices. In culturally deprived families, over one-half of the children live with only one parent or are otherwise living in unstable family conditions.⁷¹ Even in family situations where both parents are present, the mother is often working during the major part of the day.

There are several things to be considered when this occurs: mothers are often unduly tired, irritable, and impatient; children feel neglected and are neglected; children feel lonely; children are without supervision much of the time; mothers can't share the school experiences with their children; mothers can't care for the physical needs of their children; and

⁷⁰Ibid. pp. 32-34.

⁷¹Krogman, loc. cit..

mothers can't teach their children correct social behavior.⁷²

This is tragic when one considers that the lower class family is female based in the first place.⁷³ In such cases, if the children are to receive adequate care at all, it often has to be provided by the community at large or by social agencies in the community.⁷⁴

When children of any culture are not given the love and care that they need, their capacity for responding emotionally may become narrow and negative.⁷⁵ Their capacity to respond in other ways is also stunted. Thus, they do not have the freedom to think, act, explore, or create as non-culturally deprived children. Nor do they have the capacity for responsible decision-making, or for dealing with the consequences of life.

Conclusion. -- The home of the culturally deprived child does not lack all experiences that are needed to teach the child the cultural lessons necessary to learn how to adjust to school

⁷²Lois M. Stalz, "Effects of Maternal Employment on Children: Evidence from Research," Child Development, XXXI (December, 1960), p. 752.

⁷³Herbert J. Gans, "Subcultures and Class," Poverty in America, ed. Louis A. Ferman, Joyce L. Kornbluh, and Alan Haber (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1965), p. 305.

⁷⁴Elizabeth Herzog, Children of Working Mothers (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1960), p. 20.

⁷⁵Gertrude L. Hoffman, Day Care Services, Form and Substance (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1961), p. 20.

and to life.⁷⁶ For example, the lower class home provides many sibling relationships. There is some security in the lower class home, merely from the standpoint of numbers, if nothing else, since the family can become a small world for the child. There is more time spent with relatives. There is more time spent with siblings and more relationships developed within the family; therefore, there is less anxiety over the birth of a new sibling. Furthermore, when the lower class home is "broken", it does not necessarily follow that it is also disorganized.⁷⁷

But beyond these few advantages, the disadvantages are numerous in the culturally deprived home. The culturally deprived family environment handicaps the children in experience for learning in the home, in general background experience, and in the equipment to develop their fullest potentials for useful and productive living in later life.

Details of Cultural Deprivation

Intellectual Deprivation.-- Intelligence is neither fixed nor pre-determined; it is continually changing as a result of the accommodation and assimilation involved in the individual's encounters with his environment. The concept of pre-determined

⁷⁶Riessman, op. cit., pp. 36-45.

⁷⁷Ibid.

intelligence had its roots in Darwinism, and was supported by C. F. Wolff and others.⁷⁸ But more recent concepts declare that intelligence is more likely to develop as a result of the continual environment-child contact than as a pre-determined entity as was once thought.

Various studies have shown that intelligence is a product of the transaction between the individual and his environmental stimulation.⁷⁹ Foremost among the leaders of the men who conducted such studies was Jean Piaget; the studies of Piaget are more widely accepted than perhaps any other study. The following comments in this introductory section on intellectual deprivation should be attributed to Hunt's presentation of Piaget's studies in Hunt's book, Intelligence and Experience,⁸⁰ unless otherwise noted.

Intelligence is dependent on the experience that one encounters.⁸¹ Experience (that is, encounters with environment) is continually building into the child a hierarchy of operations for processing information and for coping with circumstances. Therefore, the more experience a child has, the more mental operations he can perform, and thus, the more intelligence he

⁷⁸Hunt, Intelligence and Experience, p. 348.

⁷⁹Taba, op. cit., p. 151.

⁸⁰Hunt, Intelligence and Experience, p. 247ff.

⁸¹Ibid.

has.

It is important that the experience that one encounters matches his internal organization (that is, his already present hierarchy of mental operations). When the new experience that the child encounters matches the child's mental development, then the experience is an enriching one. But when the new experience that the child encounters does not match the child's mental development, then the experience is a depriving one.

Both behavior and intelligence are determined, then, by central processes which change with experience. Early experiences regulate the rate of intellectual development and the final level of intellectual ability. If the match between early experiences and the new experience being encountered is unequal, then the child is likely to feel despair. If the match between the early experiences and the new experience being encountered is equal, then the child is likely to feel pleasure.

Early experiences are vital to the development of adequate intelligence, but the exact importance of these early experiences as to their permanent affect on intelligence remains to be seen. Nevertheless, it is important that parents not, in essence, ask their children to grow their own minds. Rather the experiences that the child encounters in his environment should be governed by the parents so as to allow the child to achieve the maximum learning and intelligence. Through such

regulation, it is quite possible to obtain faster and higher rates of intelligence over a period of time. This is not to be confused with pushing the child, for if the experiences that one presents for the child match the experimental background that the child has already acquired, then the new learning experience will be a pleasurable one. Piaget acknowledges that the setting up of these matched experiences would be hard, but he extends a challenge to the behavioral and educational sciences to do so.⁸²

Piaget is not the only holder of this experience viewpoint of intelligence. There is a growing awareness that a number of children in poverty stricken areas have difficulty all through their school experience because of their lack of intellectual stimulation in early life.⁸³ It is generally agreed that deprivation in experience causes a corresponding deprivation in intelligence.⁸⁴ Hunt states that impoverishment in the early months of life of experience that is intellectually stimulating can slow intellectual development, and that the effects tend to be permanent as to the present and potential intelligence quotient unless some intervening force introduces a larger variety of experiences.⁸⁵ Other studies have shown that enriched environment

⁸²Ibid. ⁸³Hosley, op. cit., p. 175.

⁸⁴Hunt, Intelligence and Experience, p. 306.

⁸⁵Ibid., p. 340.

could raise the intelligence level of children.⁸⁶

It would seem that the literature supports the postulation of Piaget and others that intelligence is affected by experience. The literature also supports the postulation that a deprivation of experience will tend to cause a corresponding deprivation in intelligence.

Intellectual deprivation in the lower class.-- The lower class has proportionally fewer intellectually superior class members than the middle or upper class;⁸⁷ the intelligence of children corresponds positively to their parents' socio-economic status and to their parents' educational level.⁸⁸ Adults and children from higher socio-economic homes do better on intelligence tests than do adults and children of under-privileged homes; but under age one and one-half years, this is not entirely true.⁸⁹ Tyler states that farmers and laborers score lowest on intelligence tests, and that urban children score higher on intelligence tests than rural children.⁹⁰ These and other studies point out that intelligence is related to experience which is in turn related to socio-economic status or social class membership.

⁸⁶Kawin, op. cit., p. 161.

⁸⁷Anastasi, op. cit., p. 522.

⁸⁸Tyler, op. cit., p. 473.

⁸⁹Ibid., p. 321.

⁹⁰Ibid., pp. 315, 319.

One of the reasons for this difference in intelligence level between social classes, and between urban and rural groups is that the culturally deprived children of pre-school age lack the opportunities (experiences) to develop their potential intelligence. However, when given the opportunity, they may have the capacity to develop and even raise their intelligence. Lower class children are deprived intellectually in that they do not have the environmental variety of experience, and in that the environmental experience provided is not given in an orderly manner, to help them develop the learning equipment necessary for school and life. This affects both their formal and informal learning.⁹¹ As to formal learning equipment, the child does not develop the perceptual discrimination, the attention span, the use of adults for information seeking, the expectance of reward for learning, the ability to delay gratification, etc. that he needs to master formal education. As to informal learning equipment, the child does not develop the language-symbol system, the environmental information, or the concepts of comparison and relativity that he needs to master informal learning.

The greater the variety of stimulation and the number of situations which challenge modification of conceptualization, the

⁹¹ Deutsch, op. cit., p. 359.

more mobile and differentiated the mental structure becomes.⁹²

The more a child hears, sees, and interprets, the more likely he will want to see and hear, and the more he will get from what he sees and hears. The greater the variety of reality situations with which the child has coped, the greater his ability to cope with new situations. But this variety can be drastically limited by the child's environment if the environment lacks intellectual stimulation. Conversely, stimulus deprivation results in a low experience of variety of culture, therefore, tending to produce non-variety of individuals as the individuals have less stimulation to choose from.

The slum life is particularly devoid of cultural and intellectual stimulation, and the opportunity to manipulate and experiment with objects is extremely limited. The restriction in the variety of input (experience made available to the child) limits the output of the child in expression, and reduces his precision and ability to perceive relationships and abstractions such as size, shape, distance, and time. In any community life, the well-being of the child depends on his development of a cognition of reality; i.e., he must see reality clearly and be able to control it in some way.⁹³ In a culturally deprived home, the

⁹²Taba, op. cit., p. 151.

⁹³Honingman, op. cit., p. 418.

child is not provided with the experiences to develop this cognition.

Though infants in families of low socio-economic status do not suffer greatly in intellectual deprivation in the first year of life, the over-all cultural deprivation is evidenced by intellectual deprivation in later years.⁹⁴ By age two, the crowded living conditions that usually accompany lower class housing begin to hamper the child because the child begins to get in the way of adults who in turn become aggravated and restrict the child's movements; as a result, the locomotor and manipulative development of the child is hampered. In the second and third year of life, the child learns that things have names and begins to ask questions; when he does not get any answers or gets inadequate ones at best, further questioning and exploring of life is inhibited. Also at this time, the child needs toys, with which to play and master, and he also needs parental models to begin to imitate...he does not have an adequate dose of either in the culturally deprived home. If the deprived conditions exist into the fourth and fifth years of life, the effects of deprivation are destined to become somewhat permanent.

Deprivation in specific areas of intelligence.-- Intellectually, the culturally deprived child is deprived in various ways. There are few visual symbols in the home on which to

⁹⁴Hunt, Intelligence and Experience, p. 306.

build intellectual symbolization.⁹⁵ There are no objects of interest on the walls or in the house, and if objects are present, they are usually colorless. No individual training is given beyond the mere necessities of life, and therefore, the culturally deprived child has few opportunities for perception to develop or to develop learned means of manipulating his environment.

The auditory stimulation in the culturally deprived home is poor.⁹⁶ The environment is noisy and confused, and most of the sounds that come to the child's ears are non-meaningful, especially if he lives in a noisy slum area. The child is not stimulated to conversation in the home, and he usually does not have to pay strict attention to what is being said since he receives very little informational data or auditory feedback from his parents or other meaningful adults. Since he receives no feedback, he is not corrected on his enunciation, pronunciation, or grammar. Auditory deprivation usually influences formal school performance as the child is usually not attentive in school. In school, the auditory deprivation also shows up in the child's relative unresponsiveness to questions. However, as the child increases in age and in auditory experience, the differences in his auditory ability and that of the middle class child's

⁹⁵Deutsch, op. cit., p. 360.

⁹⁶Ibid., p. 361.

usually decreases.

The memory of a culturally deprived child depends, as with other children, on his pre-school interaction with his parents or with other adults as adults link the past and the present for children.⁹⁷ Therefore, the child is deprived here as in other areas. He is less stimulated to retain thoughts or to develop memory, and he is usually present-time oriented. Furthermore, he often has almost complete disregard for time, another reason for his poor showing on tests. This disregard may result in his being late for classes and in his getting into trouble with the teacher.

Rewards for performance, a strong motivating factor used by teachers, are lacking in the culturally deprived home.⁹⁸ The assignments in the lower class home are concrete and motoric; and, if rewards are given at all, they are also concrete and motoric. Therefore, the child is unfamiliar with the teacher's practice of giving conceptual rewards such as compliments or grades. Such conceptual rewards do not motivate the lower class child as they do the middle and upper class child.

The development of language is a special problem for the culturally deprived child.⁹⁹ First of all, he has no adults present for sound information or conversation, and when adults

⁹⁷Ibid., p. 362.

⁹⁸Ibid.

⁹⁹Ibid., p. 363.

are present who can supply information, they do not encourage the child's questions. Thus, children from these homes do not learn to formulate questions; this is a definite liability in school.

The problem of language development is further hindered by the frequent incorrect labeling of the environment and of experiences.¹⁰⁰ Often, this incorrect labeling is done by the adults themselves; and, when it is done by the children, there is usually no corrective feedback from the parents. The importance of correct labeling and correct language usage cannot be over-estimated, as sixty to eighty per cent of the school communication is verbal. Perhaps another reason for the poor language development of the culturally deprived child is that lower class children learn to handle things rather than symbols... therefore, the family does not emphasize language development.¹⁰¹ And since the development of language in lower class children is overlooked by their parents,¹⁰² it is not hard to see why children do not have facility in this area of school.

There are other restricting factors in the lower class as

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 364.

¹⁰¹ Robert J. Havighurst, Developmental Tasks and Education (New York: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1952), p. 28.

¹⁰² Vera P. John, "The Intellectual Development of Slum Children: Some Preliminary Findings," The American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, XXXIII (October, 1963), p. 815.

far as language development is concerned. Books are usually unavailable; the family rarely travels to any great extent; the parents are poor models; the children often eat alone; there is little verbal stimulation; and there are few interpersonal relationships of significant value.¹⁰³ Also, the lower class language is simpler, has fewer adjectives and phrases, has fewer complex sentences, and involves fewer efforts to explain word meanings.¹⁰⁴ Children from lower class homes are apt to have various linguistic disabilities.¹⁰⁵ They have limited vocabularities, poor articulation, and poor syntactical performance, all of which are evidenced in their tendency to use short sentences with faulty grammar.

There are other peculiarities of the language usage of the lower class.¹⁰⁶ Their speech is often associated with a particular posture or activity. Their speech often follows a rhythmic pattern; it is often repetitious. Questions are often asked in informal conversation, but they are asked for social contact rather than for informational purposes. Word usage is often

¹⁰³W. E. Martin and C. B. Stendler, Child Behavior and Development (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and World, Inc., 1959), p. 511.

¹⁰⁴Havighurst, Developmental Tasks and Education, p. 30.

¹⁰⁵Hunt, Intelligence and Experience, p. 87.

¹⁰⁶Harriet M. Johnson, Children in the Nursery School (New York: John Day Co., 1936), p. 102.

associated with meanings that recall sensory or motor functions; language often deals with activity or experiences. Statements are brief and usually concern relation of certain episodes or happenings. A need to be represented in all things is often seen in the manner in which the lower class makes use of language. There is a rhythm between the body activity and the language reactions.

Language, to have meaning, must be based on real experiences.¹⁰⁷ It is through activity that the pre-school child is motivated to develop and use language. It is through discussing of activity that the child comes to know something about problem-solving, the physical-geographic-geometric world, his self-identity, his perceptual accuracy, and other bits of general knowledge (for example, the school age child should know his first and last name; the address or city of his residence; some number relationships; and differences in near and far; high and low). But even in some of these areas, the lower class child is simply not prepared.¹⁰⁸ This lack of preparation is regrettable because to understand any culture in which one is called upon to live, one must first understand the language of that culture.¹⁰⁹ Programs are needed which will give the

¹⁰⁷Hosley, op. cit., p. 178.

¹⁰⁸Deutsch, op. cit., pp. 366-367.

¹⁰⁹Breckenridge and Vincent, op. cit., p. 321.

pre-school age culturally deprived child training in language usage,¹¹⁰ particularly the language of the school. Perhaps such programs can help to make up the total intellectual deprivation of the culturally deprived child.

Language is closely connected with reading ability for the school child. The culturally deprived child lacks sufficient language and reading skills to prevent his failure in school.¹¹¹ He is often overwhelmed by his inability to differentiate and conceptualize experiences that he is required to read, and by his inability to acquire the verbal articulation that the school program demands. He also lacks the ability to perform in a disciplined reading group.¹¹² In short, he simply cannot master skills in acculturation while handicapped with a lack of readiness for reading in the first grade.¹¹³

Implications of intellectual deprivation.-- No culture can fully provide the variety of experiences needed for a full development of the intellectual potential of its members; but if a culture could do so, it would raise the average intelligence level of its members considerably.¹¹⁴ Nevertheless, it is a challenge to try to manipulate the environment of children in

¹¹⁰ Martin and Stendler, op. cit., p. 513.

¹¹¹ Riessman, op. cit., pp. 4-5.

¹¹² Taba, op. cit., p. 150. ¹¹³ Ibid., p. 155.

¹¹⁴ Deutsch, op. cit., p. 364.

such a way as to supply the cultural needs that are necessary for full intellectual development. It is well known that when changes occur in the educational and cultural facilities of a community, there is a corresponding rise in intelligence test scores of the members of that same community.¹¹⁵

While all children in all classes will not achieve the same, all children in all classes should be given an equal opportunity to achieve by removing the differences in social class through the processes of education and environmental manipulation.¹¹⁶ The American educational system has never really sought to find the "specific inadequacy" of cultural deprivation with a view to overcoming this inadequacy through education.¹¹⁷ Wellman has done some research here;¹¹⁸ the following paragraph concerns what he found.

Within certain limits and for children of superior native endowment, intelligence is modifiable by environmental conditions. In a study of pre-school programs, it was found that children who attended the all-day sessions of the pre-school program made greater gains in intelligence than those children who attended the half-day sessions. Here, the greatest gains were made by

¹¹⁵Anastasi, op. cit., p. 212.

¹¹⁶Kawin, op. cit., p. 103. ¹¹⁷Ibid., p. 160.

¹¹⁸B. L. Wellman, "The Effect of Preschool Attendance Upon the I. Q.," Journal of Experimental Education, I (December, 1932), p. 69.

children in the lower range of intelligence, probably because of their tremendous lack of background experience. Finally, children who attended the pre-school program for two or more consecutive years showed a marked increase in intelligence as determined by tests administered over a period of three to nine years; these same children failed to gain in intelligence during the months that they were not attending the pre-school program.

It should be clear, at this point, that the culturally deprived child is intellectually deprived, and that this intellectual deprivation greatly affects the child's chances for success in school. If the intellectual deprivation is great enough, the child's chances for success are almost negated, for intellectual deprivation affects, and is affected by, other details of cultural deprivation.

Social Deprivation.-- The United States has a ranking of social classes which is determined by privilege, and opportunities for social learning are limited by the pressure of the higher social groups.¹¹⁹ The various social classes differ as to the opportunities to form intimate social relationships with any other social class of which they are not a member. The middle class probably has the greatest opportunity to form intimate relationships with people outside their social class; the lower

¹¹⁹ Davis, Social Class Influence Upon Learning, pp. 4-11.

class probably has the least opportunity to form intimate relationships with people outside their social class.

There are reasons for this lack of opportunity. When parents find that they cannot meet their children's needs, and when the family group experiences do not meet the children's needs, parents can go outside the home for help in meeting the needs of their children.¹²⁰ The community offers various opportunities for children to have their cultural needs met, such as through the church, the mass media, and the school,¹²¹ The community may offer specialized services to children, such as special group activities for children.¹²² But the point is this...the lower class parents are usually the parents who cannot meet their children's needs; the lower class family group experiences cannot always make up for the unmet needs of the children; and the lower class parents are usually the parents who are not too enthusiastic or capable of utilizing the community's cultural resources to the fullest. In short, they cannot make use of the few opportunities afforded them to move beyond their social

¹²⁰James R. Dumpson, "The Place of Day Care in Meeting Children's Needs," Child Welfare, XLIII(April, 1964), p. 185.

¹²¹Martin and Stendler, op. cit., p. 127.

¹²²Viola G. Gilfillan, "Day Care as a Therapeutic Service to Preschool Children and Its Potential as a Preventive Service," Child Welfare, XLI (November, 1962), p. 411.

class for intimate relationships with members of other social classes.

So it is evident that the culturally deprived child is not as socially stimulated as the non-culturally deprived child.¹²³ This lack of social stimulation causes problems in various areas in the child's life, and one of these is in school. As long as the social deprivation of the culturally deprived child is neglected, the child faces the prospect of severe failure in school. But to get to the bottom of this problem, one must first relieve some of the social pressures that are interwoven with cultural deprivation and the culturally deprived child.¹²⁴

Social deprivation in the home.-- Ideally, socialization should begin in the home. The home is the place for learning the social aspects of giving and receiving, of gaining control over one's self, and for general socialization.¹²⁵ Any child, culturally deprived or not, will grow up with some perceptions of what his social life should be like, right or wrong though they be, because of the natural socializing tendencies of the home.

However, the problem of social deprivation exists in that the socialization that any child receives in his home is dependent

¹²³Martin and Stendler, op. cit., p. 287-295.

¹²⁴Hosley, op. cit., p. 179.

¹²⁵Breckenridge and Vincent, op. cit., p. 154.

on the socialization of his parents (on what they perceive proper socialization to mean) which in turn is determined by the cultural and subcultural identification of his parents.¹²⁶ The socialization of any child depends on the composition of his family, the child's relationship to his parents, the presence or absence of one or both parents, whether the parents themselves are from urban or rural settings, and the ethnic identification of the parents.¹²⁷

In the process of socialization, the child must learn what behavior is and is not appropriate in various settings. But the culturally deprived child receives few lessons in what behavior is appropriate for the classroom at school. In the slums, for example, the child learns to get along socially by knowing what and whom to avoid,¹²⁸ rather than by knowing how to get along with various circumstances and various people. In essence, he often learns to avoid socially uncomfortable situations, such as school, rather than learning to adapt to the many social situations that the school presents.

Effects of social deprivation on school performance.--

When social contacts of children are delayed too long, the result

¹²⁶Baughman and Welsh, op. cit., p. 151.

¹²⁷Martin and Stendler, op. cit., p. 305.

¹²⁸Ibid., pp. 416-417.

may not be noticeable until the school years when the socially deprived children meet non-socially deprived children.¹²⁹ At this point, the socially deprived children often develop a feeling of inferiority, become discouraged, and withdraw into themselves or from school completely. The important thing to note here is not that the culturally deprived children have particularly bad social behavior, but simply that their social background experience is so vastly different from the school's accepted mode of social behavior that the socially deprived children are not able to achieve the same socialization that the school requires or to make up the social distance between themselves and their non-socially deprived classmates. The relationship of cultural deprivation to poor school adjustment is great enough to demonstrate that the culturally deprived children are unable to make up the cultural differences in socialization.¹³⁰

The school itself is a narrow selection of educational values which seeks to prepare children for a few highly selective, traditional skills.¹³¹ The experiences that befall culturally deprived children are not even the same as those of the middle class core culture, much less the narrower selection of middle class core culture traits and skills that the school seeks to

¹²⁹Breckenridge and Vincent, op. cit., p. 353-354.

¹³⁰Hosley, op. cit., p. 175.

¹³¹Davis, Social Class Influence Upon Learning, pp. 90-91.

teach. Furthermore, the persons doing the teaching, the teachers themselves, are usually of the middle class culture and there are often gaps of cultural understanding between them and their culturally deprived students.¹³²

When the child does not develop the degree of socialization required by the school, he is apt to find school an unpleasant experience. He finds that the things that he is required to learn and the behavior patterns that he is expected to perform are strange, unreal, and uninteresting. As he begins to fail in his school experiences, he may develop a negative self-image and most certainly a negative social self-image; this image becomes harder to erase as the child grows older.¹³³

The culturally deprived child may feel that the socialization required by the school calls him into conflict with his home socialization, and it often does.¹³⁴ The school socialization may, in effect, call upon the child to denounce both himself and his parents, his old way of life, his attitudes, his values, his emotions, and his self-esteem.

Teachers grow impatient with socially deprived children as they advance in school age. In the first grade, socially deprived children are often described as "cute", "warm", and "expressive",

¹³² Martin and Stendler, op. cit., p. 357

¹³³ Deutsch, op. cit., pp. 367-368.

¹³⁴ Taba, op. cit., pp. 155-156.

but when these same children are described in later grades, they are described as "cold", "angry", and "passive".¹³⁵ Such descriptions as these may indicate that teachers find the very young socially deprived child's behavior to be interesting and perhaps amusing; but as the child grows older and the differences between his social behavior and the social behavior expected of other children his age increases, the teacher finds that the child becomes more irritating than interesting and perhaps more annoying than amusing.

Schools, one solution to social deprivation.-- In some form or fashion, the schools must teach all of the children under their guidance to get along with their peers.¹³⁶ Schools should be able to provide at least this degree of socialization because the schools can provide: the institutional identification that children need, the parental-adult models that children need, the rewards that children need, and the support that children need. Also, the school helps the child to learn motivation, general knowledge, social sensitivity, awareness of group expectancy, group rules, group and individual roles, and group and individual disciplines.¹³⁷ In short, the school can help the child to learn the social behavior that was not taught in the home and to achieve that level of socialization which is pre-requisite to the child's

¹³⁵ Deutsch, op. cit., p. 356.

¹³⁶ Martin and Stendler, op. cit., p. 382. ¹³⁷ Ibid.

success in school and in life.

Certain conditions are more conducive to socialization in school than other conditions. Primary among these conditions is that the significant difference in the cultural value systems of the teacher and child must be decreased.¹³⁸ The teacher and the child must somehow come to have a mutual respect for each other.

If the teacher is culturally bound to her own culture to the extent that other cultures bother her to a significant degree, then she may not be able to teach the culturally deprived child. More specifically, the middle-class teacher cannot expect the lower class, culturally deprived child to immediately learn and internalize the middle class virtues of non-aggression, thrift, care of property, respect for authority, and habits of cleanliness. Rather the teacher might best seek to make up the cultural difference between herself and her culturally deprived student by attempting to gradually and patiently socialize the child through: providing a good adult model, providing rewards and punishments that are meaningful to the child, and selecting the experiences to be taught that are meaningful to the child.

Attitudes.-- The formation of attitudes is a major part of the process of social learning. Attitudes that are formed

¹³⁸Ibid., p. 353-354.

from the relationships of the child to his parents and siblings are the prototypes for all later attitude formation.¹³⁹ But attitudes are also formed in relation to the family's possession or non-possession of wealth, to the family sub-ordination or non-sub-ordination to other higher social classes, and to role learning.¹⁴⁰ The child often becomes socialized in light of his awareness of group differences that extend beyond the home, and the child may also pick up some of his own groups' attitudes through observing the attitudes of other groups toward his group.¹⁴¹ Though the child may not fully understand the implications of these attitudinal differences, he does know that differences do exist.

Attitudes toward education are more related to socio-economic status than to actual ability to achieve in school.¹⁴² The lower class has a whole set of attitudes toward education that differ greatly from any other social class. Lower class children develop the attitudes that the following is good social behavior: to get away with all that one can with the police and teachers, to quit school at as early an age as possible to go to work, to distrust the school and the school's goals for students,

¹³⁹Honingman, op. cit., p. 173.

¹⁴⁰Ibid., p. 435.

¹⁴¹Mariam Radke, Helen Trager, and Hadassah Davis, "Social Perceptions and Attitudes of Children," Genetic Psychology Monographs, XL (November, 1949), p. 332.

¹⁴²Tyler, op. cit., p. 127.

and to view women and women teachers as inferior to men.¹⁴³

Another attitudinal concern of the lower class is their concern with job security as opposed to job achievement or school achievement. Tyler states that this attitude and other lower class attitudes greatly affect the goals that lower class parents are apt to set for their children.¹⁴⁴ Lower class children, therefore, are likely to think that planning ahead in life is futile, and they may develop resentment toward those people who do plan ahead and who do have material goods¹⁴⁵ or better grades. As a result of these and other factors, lower class children develop the attitude, as their parents, that it is better to have ideas of changing the environment rather than having ideas of fitting one's self into the environment.¹⁴⁶

People become aware of class differences through one means or another,¹⁴⁷ and lower class children often regard people outside their social class as having a dislike for them, as having a desire to take advantage of them, or as having a desire to

¹⁴³ Martin and Stendler, op. cit., p. 190.

¹⁴⁴ Tyler, op. cit., p. 334.

¹⁴⁵ Warren C. Haggstrom, "The Power of the Poor," Poverty in America, ed. Louis A. Ferman, Joyce L. Kornbluh, and Alan Haber (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1965), p. 316.

¹⁴⁶ Anastasi, op. cit., p. 514.

¹⁴⁷ Baughman and Welsh, op. cit., pp. 204-205.

treat them unfairly.¹⁴⁸ Therefore, the lower class child is likely to have resentment and hostility toward people outside his social class and immediate environment. Feeling that the outside world is socially hostile, lower class children often put a premium on self-assertion and aggression.

The lower classes are concerned with elements in life that are quite different from middle class concerns. First of all, they are concerned over getting into trouble, with either authoritarian officials or with middle class citizens. They are concerned with their desire to be tough, and therefore emphasize the physical aspects of life and try to be as non-emotional as possible. This concern for toughness also leads them to regard middle class art forms as foolish, to regard women as inferior, and to sometimes become involved in homosexual activities to avoid contact with the inferior sex. They are concerned with intelligence, but not intelligence connected with the formal learning of the school, but rather with intelligence that is connected with the ability to be a good con man (that is, to achieve the maximum from life with the minimum of effort). Learning connected with mastering a particular body of knowledge is devalued.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁸Sexton, op. cit., p. 93.

¹⁴⁹Walter B. Miller, "Focal Concerns of Lower-Class Culture," Poverty in America, ed. Louis A. Ferman, Joyce L. Kornbluh, and Alan Haber (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1965), p. 262-268.

Other concerns of the lower class distinguish their attitudes from those of the middle and upper classes. They are concerned with excitement; that is, they look for excitement to avoid the otherwise dull routines of life. Excitement for the lower class might include a night on the town or flirtations with danger which is balanced by the passive, non-dangerous activity of "hanging around". The lower class is concerned with fate, for they think that they are subject to nature. Thus, they have much superstition and fantasy in their thinking, and have much luck involved in their gambling. The lower class is concerned with autonomy, though not in the same sense as the middle class. For the lower class individual, autonomy is a sort of defense mechanism. While covertly needing help from others and the care of an authority structure, the lower class individual overtly shows a resentment and hostility toward the help that he receives and toward the authority structure that cares for him. This is vividly demonstrated in the school. The lower class child needs the structure of firmness (authority and care) found in the school, but he will overtly show resentment toward the teacher who tries to help him or the school authorities who try to care for and discipline him.¹⁵⁰ Nevertheless, the school is a good place for the child to adjust his general attitudes. Attitudes are subject to change and influence by education,

¹⁵⁰Ibid., p. 269.

change in both the knowledge of attitudes and in the understanding of attitudes.

Values;-- Values are patterned conceptions of the quality of meaning of human experience;¹⁵¹ values are conceptions of the desirable.¹⁵² and different social classes have different ideas about what these conceptions are meant to mean. This poses a problem for growing children; for as children grow, the culture of which they are a part expects them to join in or to accept the cultural values that are laid down. But some children are simply not able to do so.¹⁵³ One reason for this failure to become participators in the core culture is that the core culture gives off many varied standards of social behavior.

In the broad American core culture, people learn to value being "on top", even of one's own parents.¹⁵⁴ But this value has a different meaning for the culturally deprived person who knows that he will never be on top, socially, economically, or otherwise. Therefore, the lower class individual's values of achievement and ambition, are apt to be considerably lower than the middle or upper class individual who has some opportunity to be on top.

¹⁵¹Parsons and Bales, op. cit., p. 158.

¹⁵²Ibid., p. 194.

¹⁵³Breckenridge and Vincent, op. cit., pp. 184-185.

¹⁵⁴Davis and Havighurst cited by Honingman, op. cit. p. 266.

Lower class values, then, may be quite incomprehensible for the middle class population, perhaps because the lower class is responding to a culture that values physical, economic, and cultural realities that are quite different from those valued by the middle class.¹⁵⁵ Behavior that the middle class views as "shiftless", may be an adequate response to reality in the lower class.

One reason for the great span of value differences is that the lower class has a value system of its own and also incorporates some of the values of the middle and upper classes. Thus, the lower class responds to values of a wide and varied range. This wide range of values is needed in order to help the lower class individual adjust to the whole spectrum of cultural deprivation...the wider the value range, the more values the lower class individual has to choose from, and therefore there is less pressure to conform to a narrow set of values (which would make the deprivation intolerable).¹⁵⁶ If it were not for this wide range of values, perhaps more mental health problems, and more juvenile delinquency would be found in the lower class than is presently found.

When the lower class child moves into the school situation,

¹⁵⁵ Davis, Social Class Influence Upon Learning, p. ii

¹⁵⁶ Hyman Rodman, "The Lower-Class Value Stretch," Poverty in America, ed. Louis A. Ferman, Joyce L. Kornbluh, and Alan Haber (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1965), p.282ff.

he is asked to give up a great many of the values that he has acquired, thereby decreasing his range of choices of values and behavior and, thus, causing extra stress upon entering school. The strain of school becomes greater on the lower class child because most of the values that he is compelled to give up are lower class values, and most of the values that he is allowed to keep, or take on, are middle class values. This is one of several reasons for a high proportion of school drop-outs among the lower class.¹⁵⁷ Another reason is the fact that lower class children are unable to delay gratification and are more interested in having fun than in going to school (as are most children, but the middle class child is not required to give up his money or his good times because of school). Also, children of the lower class have to drop out of school due to economic necessity.¹⁵⁸

The lower class value system does not require that the lower class child be honest with anyone except his family and neighbors. Nor are the virtues of responsibility, loyalty,

¹⁵⁷ Riessman, op. cit., p. 1ff.

¹⁵⁸ Louis Schneider and Sverre Lysgaard, "The Deferred Gratification Patterns: A Preliminary Study," American Sociological Review, Vol. XVIII, p. 142ff. cited by S. M. Miller, Frank Riessman, and Arthur A. Seagull, "Poverty and Self-Indulgence: A Critique of the Non-Deferred Gratification Pattern," Poverty in America, ed. Louis A. Ferman, Joyce L. Kornbluh, and Alan Haber (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1965), p. 293.

guilt over aggression, educational standing, self-reliance, initiative, or manners that belong to the middle class present in the lower class.¹⁵⁹ Though it is true that these middle class values are widely publicized through mass media, these values may not be available to the lower class child in that he is an observer of the middle class value system and social progress, rather than a participant.¹⁶⁰ However, on entering school, he is not only given more direct exposure to these values, but he is asked to incorporate them into his thinking and behaving. Therefore, he must begin a rapid adaptation to the culture of the school if he is to avoid failure. Often, however, the school is not able to cut across the cultural barrier because the child has had little, if any home teaching concerning the value of achievement, and this is the main emphasis for success in school.

Prejudice.-- In American socialization, it is important to have the virtues of getting along with others, learning independence, gaining success, and maintaining a certain degree of Puritanism.¹⁶¹ But even in the public schools, children are not able to gain equal footing in these virtues; the lower class children are not as popular, independent, successful, or

¹⁵⁹Honingman, op. cit., p. 319.

¹⁶⁰Deutsch, op. cit., p. 355.

¹⁶¹Martin and Stendler, op. cit., p. 175.

Puritanical. One reason for this may be that children as young as five years of age are already aware of the social prejudices that accompany one's race, ethnic group, or social class.¹⁶² These children are already aware of some of the social expectancies that are required of them and of the stereotypes (and consequent self-image) that mark their social class. Personality scores are more related to social class than to any other sociological factor, even racial or ethnic group.¹⁶³

The public generally views the poor people of society with some compassion, but yet they also view them as immoral, unmotivated to the good, and childish; and as a result, hostility is directed toward the poor.¹⁶⁴ This prejudice is particularly pertinent when public attitudes toward lower class members on public welfare assistance are considered.¹⁶⁵ The general public regards public welfare recipients as second class citizens at best.

The middle class public sees the lower class citizen as unrespectable, ignorant, and unlikely to change his mode of living.¹⁶⁶ The middle class also sees the culturally deprived

¹⁶²Anastasi, op. cit., p. 557.

¹⁶³Ibid., p. 555.

¹⁶⁴Louis A. Ferman, Joyce L. Kornbluh, and Alan Haber (ed.) Poverty in America (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1965), p. xvii.

¹⁶⁵Hosley, op. cit., p. 169.

¹⁶⁶Davis, Social Class Influence Upon Learning, p. 29.

as disorganized (but the lower class have their own modes of behavior); in a deprived condition as a result of their own fault (rather than seeing cultural deprivation as a sociological causation problem); and non-goal directed (but they are limited in goals due to poverty).¹⁶⁷ The middle class also tends to look for a central theme of causation of cultural deprivation rather than at the total sociological causation.

What the middle class fails to see about the lower class individual is that the culturally deprived have a culture all of their own. It is only when the lower class individual falls below this cultural level that he develops any social anxiety. Therefore, the lower class individual may have what appears to the middle class as impoverished conditions of food, shelter, clothing, and sanitation while at the same time feeling no social anxiety over his situation because he has not yet dipped below his culturally deprived cultural norm.¹⁶⁸

The middle class core culture or the American national system does not provide for any regular income to people who inhabit the slums.¹⁶⁹ This in itself may show some degree of prejudice of the middle class against the lower class. But here again, there is a difference in cultural understanding. The

¹⁶⁷Ferman, Kornbluh, and Haber, op. cit., p. 313.

¹⁶⁸Davis, Social Class Influence Upon Learning, p. 29.

¹⁶⁹Ibid., p. 28.

slum social anxiety results, not from failure to achieve the middle class norms, but from a fear of rejection by the slum dweller's own family and own culture. In other words, the slum anxiety (social) may be the exact opposite of the middle class social anxiety; that is, the slum child may fear not to curse, not to have early sex relations, not to get into trouble with the teacher, and not to make bad grades. And though the slums have their own kinds of controls, their behavior to middle class observers is aggressively and sexually uninhibited.

Prejudice on the social level seems to be more discriminatory on the basis of cultural and social class differences than on race or ethnic differences.¹⁷⁰ Minority groups are more closely divided on the basis of socio-economic status than on any other factor. For one thing, not all minority groups, such as the Negro classes, are culturally alike. For example, there is a difference in the acculturation level of the upper and lower class Negro.¹⁷¹ Therefore, discrimination and prejudice seem to have their most potent attack at the socio-economic position of the child, indicating that the general public is more attuned to differences in culture than to differences in race alone.

However, the hard fact remains that there is much prejudice on the part of the middle class culture concerning the American

¹⁷⁰ Anastasi, op. cit., pp. 570-584.

¹⁷¹ Honingman, op. cit., pp. 326-328.

Negro, because the Negro has cultural deprivation, minority group discrimination, and race prejudice against him.¹⁷² Furthermore, though one may eventually change social classes, the color caste is the most sanctioned form of social stratification in American culture today.¹⁷³ For example, though the background experiences of the lower class Negro is vastly different from the background experiences of the middle class Negro,¹⁷⁴ the middle class culture (particularly the non-Negro) tends to regard all Negroes as being alike in background experiences and in acculturation.

Children pick up these discriminatory attitudes of the middle class public. Children assimilate anti-minority group attitudes through learning which is not based on personal experience with the minority group members.¹⁷⁵ Because the race of the Negro tends to determine his social class standing, especially in relation to employment and education,¹⁷⁶ and because other individuals tend to hold the Negro in low regard (no matter

¹⁷²Anastasi, op. cit., p. 590.

¹⁷³Davis, Social Class Influence Upon Learning, p. 6.

¹⁷⁴Deutsch, op. cit., p. 360.

¹⁷⁵Mariam Radke, et. al., "Children's Concepts and Attitudes About Minority and Majority American Groups," Journal of Educational Psychology, XL (December, 1949), p. 468.

¹⁷⁶Joseph S. Himes, "Some Work-Related Cultural Deprivations of Lower-Class Negro Youths," Poverty in America, ed. Louis A. Ferman, Joyce L. Kornbluh, and Alan Haber (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1965), p. 384.

what the social class of the Negro), the Negro child may develop self-hate at the core of his ego structure.^{177,178} This self-image is never lost due to the prejudice of white, middle class individuals, and it is actually reinforced when the Negro child learns in school of the Negro culture's early slavery.¹⁷⁹

Cultural deprivation in the Negro home is clear. Parents often neglect their children; homes are economically deprived; and homes are emotionally deprived; all of which lead to mistrust, suspicion, and anxiety on the part of the child.¹⁸⁰ Under-privileged conditions, socially imposed frustrations, and social oppression may cause the Negro to have low motivation or interest to learn the middle class culture.¹⁸¹ Social pressures which inhibit verbalization may result in a retardation in the development of language and speech facilities.

Poverty is often worse for the Negro due to the usual discriminatory practices of the middle class core culture and the accompanying fact that some educational training is not as available to Negro children as it is to other groups.¹⁸² Also, even

¹⁷⁷ Geargene Seward (ed.), Clinical Studies in Cultural Conflict (New York: Ronal Press Company, 1958), pp. 7-9.

¹⁷⁸ Hosley, op. cit., p. 179.

¹⁷⁹ Honingham, op. cit., p. 268. ¹⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 406.

¹⁸¹ Anastasi, op. cit., pp. 550-566.

¹⁸² Alan Batchelder, "Poverty: the Special Case of the Negro," Poverty in America, ed. Louis A. Ferman, Joyce L. Kornbluh, and Alan Haber (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1965), p.113.

if this education was available, the Negro is now so culturally behind the cultural expectations of the school due to a lack of exposure to school cultural values before starting school,¹⁸³ that it is difficult for the Negro child to integrate into the new culture. Negroes as a whole are still not integrated into the core culture of the United States.

Furthermore, as education improves, the culturally deprived Negro family will be even more behind in acculturation into the core culture of America.¹⁸⁴ Schools have thus far failed to put the culturally deprived Negro situation in historical perspective.¹⁸⁵ The historical instability of the male parent is important; children come to school with still another gap in their experience and without having had a successful male figure with which to identify...as a result, they are poorly motivated for success or achievement. The schools have also overlooked the fact that racial subcultural identification tends to foster the development of special patterns of abilities, for the schools make no effort to capitalize on these abilities. There are numerous other forms of prejudice in the schools, but these will be cited in the last section concerning the dilemma of cultural deprivation.

¹⁸³ Deutsch, op. cit., p. 357ff.

¹⁸⁴ Batchelder, op. cit., p. 116.

¹⁸⁵ Deutsch, loc. cit.

Conclusion.-- It is evident, then, that the culturally deprived child is quite deprived in his social environment, and consequently in his social development (especially in terms of school development). He is deprived in that he lacks general social knowledge, attitudes, and values of the core culture, and in that he is the object of much social prejudice and discrimination.

Thus far in our investigation of the details of cultural deprivation, the details of intellectual deprivation and social deprivation have been reviewed. Intellectual deprivation and social deprivation are important aspects of cultural deprivation; for when the child is intellectually and socially deprived, he is deprived in the two main areas in which he must achieve success in school.¹⁸⁶ Also, as with intellectual deprivation, social deprivation affects, and is affected by, other details of cultural deprivation.

Emotional deprivation.-- The culturally deprived are deprived emotionally as well as materially. Thus far, this thesis has concerned itself with cultural deprivation as a total entity, and with the two specific aspects of intellectual and social deprivation which are a part of the total cultural deprivation. In turning to the consideration of emotional deprivation, a definition of what is meant by emotional deprivation is in order.

¹⁸⁶Hosley, op. cit., p. 175.

Anastasi defines the emotional environment as the sum total of all the stimulations of the child from conception to the present.¹⁸⁷ It would seem then that emotional deprivation results from lack of proper emotional stimulation in the environment of the child. Eli Bower attempts to define emotional deprivation in terms of "emotional handicap".¹⁸⁸ He states that an emotional handicap is something that is inferred by behavior, and that it occurs when one's behavior is limited or restricted so that he cannot choose which behavior to perform. An emotional handicap is evidenced by such things as vulnerability to health problems, and poor interpersonal interrelationships, throughout life. It is also evidenced by an unexplained inability to learn, by inappropriate behavior under normal environmental conditions, by general unhappiness or depression, and by a tendency to develop physical symptoms that are associated with school (in children). The point of Bower's definition is that one must see the motivation or the source of the poor behavior; if the sources are limited so that the child cannot choose among behavior choices, then the child is emotionally handicapped to the degree that he cannot do so.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁷Anastasi, op. cit., p. 194.

¹⁸⁸Eli M Bower, Early Identification of Emotionally Handicapped Children in School (Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas, 1960), pp. 7-13.

¹⁸⁹Ibid.

Parent-child relationships.-- It is important that there be a consistency in the emotional quality of early learning experiences, for this helps the child to align his total learning in a pattern that is meaningful to him.¹⁹⁰ Parents are usually the ones who are responsible for seeing that this consistency exists. The early parent-child relationships help to determine the nature of all later emotion attached to learning. This early parent-child relationship is important for this reason, and also because it influences later social relationships.¹⁹¹

Maas states that the parent-child relationship of the lower class is rigid; therefore, the child feels more rejection, hostility, and fear from the relationship than the middle class child.¹⁹² Davis states that the lower class child experiences more aggressive feelings because these feelings are more openly expressed in the culturally deprived family.¹⁹³ Taba describes the emotional psychology of the culturally deprived child as: the child has low self-esteem; the child questions his own worth; the child fears being challenged in any way; the child has a desire to cling to familiar environments; the child has many guilts, fears, and shames; the child has limited trust in adults;

¹⁹⁰Honingham, op. cit., p. 433.

¹⁹¹Havighurst, Developmental Tasks and Education, p. 13.

¹⁹²Maas cited by Anastasi, op. cit., p. 509.

¹⁹³Honingman, op. cit., p. 324.

the child tends to respond in a reaction-type manner or the child is apathetic and is slow to respond at all; and the child is low in general standards of conduct.¹⁹⁴

Class differences in emotional deprivation.-- There is strong evidence that the culturally deprived child never experiences a satisfactory type of parent-child relationship; and therefore, the socio-economic identification of the family has certain emotional effects on children.¹⁹⁵ When the child is not proud of his home, his parents, or his clothing he does not have anything or anyone with whom he can develop a personal identity. He may feel unequal to his peers as a result and learn a kind of built-in fear of future cultural deprivation. This, in turn, may lead to the pressure for rapid and early achievement which he, of course, cannot obtain due to his general cultural deprivation.

Though the relationship between anxiety and social class is not too high, there is a tendency for the lower class to have more anxiety than the middle or upper classes.¹⁹⁶ For example, fathers of boys with high anxiety ratings had finished fewer grades than their sons and had less education than their wives. One reason that the lower class tends to overeat, to use too

¹⁹⁴Taba, op. cit., p. 152.

¹⁹⁵Breckenridge and Vincent, op. cit., p. 187.

¹⁹⁶Baughman and Welsh, op. cit., p. 443.

much fuel for warmth, to use too much electricity for light, to buy too many nice clothes, and to spend too much money, is that they have anxiety over the many times when they were without these items and they wish to store up goods when they are available.¹⁹⁷

The lower class sees life as a series of ups and downs, and they wish to get materials while the getting is good. Regardless of the source of anxiety or emotional handicap, anxiety has a negative effect on the child's ability to master both informal and formal learning.¹⁹⁸

Studies have shown that there are more emotional problems among the lower class in terms of mental illness. Mental illness rates go up as the socio-economic level goes down.¹⁹⁹ The frequency of psychological disorders is related to social class position; and the type of psychological disorder is related to the type of neighborhood in which one lives.²⁰⁰ The less favored neighborhood children tend to act out their problems, whereas, the more favored neighborhood children tend to internalize their problems more. Children of professional classes tend to score

¹⁹⁷Davis, Social Class Influence Upon Learning, p. 17.

¹⁹⁸Baughman and Welsh, op. cit., p. 44.

¹⁹⁹Eleanor Leacock. "Three Social Variables and the Occurrence of Mental Disorder," Explorations in Social Psychiatry, ed. Alexander H. Leighton, John A. Clarisen, and Robert Wilson cited by Eli Bower, Early Identification of Emotionally Handicapped Children in School (Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas, 1960), pp. 39-40.

²⁰⁰Ibid.

higher on intelligence tests, and are more socially and emotionally stable than lower classes of children. Baughman and Welsh found that mental health problems required treatment more frequently in the lower class.²⁰¹ They found that there were: more neurosis in the upper classes; more psychoses in the lower class; schizophrenics in all classes, but eight times more schizophrenics in some lower classes; more obsessive compulsives in the upper classes; more hysterical patients in the lower class; and more patients who required custodial care and organic therapy in the lower classes.²⁰² However, they concluded that there was too much difference in mental health problems within each individual class to draw any definite conclusions from their studies, other than the fact that the lower classes have poorer mental health and more emotional problems, probably because of deprivation in all areas, particularly emotional.

Emotional deprivation and school experience.-- Whatever the extent of emotional deprivation in the culturally deprived home the culturally deprived child does suffer enough emotional deprivation to hinder his over-all school performance upon entering school.²⁰³ They have more neuroses, more emotional.

²⁰¹ Baughman and Welsh, op. cit., p. 467ff.

²⁰² Ibid., pp. 335-337.

²⁰³ Anastasi, op. cit., p. 512.

insecurities, more worries, more psychoses, more irritability, and less maturity. As a result of these and other emotional problems, the emotionally deprived child develops the following tendencies in school: having negative attitudes toward the school, teachers, and achievements; seeking of immediate gratification at the expense of long range goals; and using violence freely in conduct.²⁰⁴

It is true that emotional damage is done to children at an early age through inadequate care and guidance,²⁰⁵ but it is also true that the problem of emotional deprivation at the school level is great enough that some measures should be taken to compensate for emotional deprivation before the child fails in school. Since emotional problems do have their roots in early life, and since deviant patterns of behavior that result from emotional deprivation do not become internalized until the child reaches school age, perhaps these difficulties could be corrected in the pre-school years.²⁰⁶ If so, such correction would serve as a prevention of later emotional difficulties in school.

Prevention of emotional deprivation is both socially and economically advantageous.²⁰⁷ It requires early detection of

²⁰⁴Taba, op. cit., p. 152.

²⁰⁵Gilfillan, op. cit., p. 412.

²⁰⁶Ibid., p. 411.

²⁰⁷Bower, op. cit., pp. 4, 5, 16.

emotional deprivation and remedial steps to correct it. It includes effective action at the point when it can positively influence members of society (that is, when it is politically and psychologically possible to accomplish).²⁰⁸ The schools will ultimately have to take the major responsibility for this prevention as society expects the school to identify emotional deprivation and supply a remedy for it. Moreover, educational policies can have a direct influence on the mental health of the children.²⁰⁹ With early detection by the family, the school, or the community, the emotionally deprived child can be helped most effectively and economically. One might wonder if some pre-school remedial program would be in order here, as with other details of cultural deprivation.

Physical deprivation.-- As new physical resources develop in the young child, he must learn the developmental tasks that maturation requires.²¹⁰ In short, as he develops the capacity to perform physical tasks, he must also be provided with the experience of learning to use his new physical resources. Physical growth is usually associated with the developmental tasks of walking, talking, controlling elimination, and taking in solid foods.

²⁰⁸ Ibid.

²⁰⁹ Ibid., p. 23.

²¹⁰ Havighurst, Developmental Tasks and Education, pp. 4-10.

The developmental task of body stability is not achieved until the child is about five years of age.²¹¹ This means that during most of the child's pre-school years, his physical development is constantly undergoing change and alteration; therefore, it is important that the child be given an environment that stimulates his physical growth. Culturally deprived homes cannot supply such an environment.

Even when body stimulation is achieved, it may still be affected by the surrounding social and emotional conditions, or by the total stimulation or lack of stimulation of the environment.²¹² Hereditary factors may be altered by the environment. For example, hereditary physical potentials may be retarded by an environment that does not supply adequate health measures such as proper nutrition.²¹³ When food is not adequately supplied, an organism can produce little energy for other tasks.²¹⁴ Children need stimulation from their environment, especially in terms of their nutritional needs.

Poverty often causes malnutrition, disease, deaths, and poor health,²¹⁵ as physical development is severely affected by

²¹¹Ibid., p. 12.

²¹²Ibid.

²¹³Anastasi, op. cit., p. 70.

²¹⁴Martin and Stendler, op. cit., pp. 8-11, 103.

²¹⁵Breckenridge and Vincent, op. cit., p. 187.

the socio-economic level of the home in which it takes place. For example, there is a significant difference in the rate of growth of upper and lower class children.²¹⁶ Infants from poverty stricken homes tend to weigh less and to be shorter in height.

In culturally deprived homes, the living conditions are characterized by inadequate housing, lack of sanitation, lack of physical facilities, lack of privacy, the presence of many children (and therefore, no individual attention is given to physical needs), over-all crowded conditions, and restriction to the immediate environment and, therefore, limited exploration of the outside world (no opportunities to see natural, physical beauty).²¹⁷ There are few objects in the home especially in the way of books, toys, pencils, puzzles, or paper, and this lack is seen in school when the children often cannot even physically manipulate the objects that they are required to use in school. Parents are often unable to teach the children to manipulate the objects properly even when the objects are present.

If the child is to develop to his fullest physical potential, the home must at least provide space. With adequate space, the child can rest, find a quiet place, and find a place to exercise.

²¹⁶ Martin and Stendler, op. cit., p. 470.

²¹⁷ Deutsch, op. cit., p. 358.

But when space is inadequate, the child cannot have any of these. As a result, problems develop concerning child discipline, child cooperation, and child emotions.²¹⁸

Slum areas are particularly beset by physical deprivations. The slum area is likely to have a negative effect on the physical growth of its citizens.²¹⁹ This is because it is here that culturally deprived children are most physically restricted. Physical restriction by the environment can influence the rate of bodily development within the limits already set by heredity.²²⁰

The physically deprived home also retards the child in habits of cleanliness.²²¹ The home is often untidy, without running water, full of insects and mice, and without adequate drawer space. The child often has only one suit of clothes, and the clothes are usually of the cheap variety that are hard to clean.

It is difficult for the physically deprived child to understand the middle class standards of care of property, since the physically deprived child rarely has any property of his own. Thus, it is not hard to understand why the physically deprived

²¹⁸Breckenridge and Vincent, op. cit., p. 153.

²¹⁹Deutsch, op. cit., p. 355.

²²⁰Martin and Stendler, op. cit., p. 103.

²²¹Breckenridge and Vincent, op. cit., p. 187.

child would have anxiety over things other than lack of food. The anxiety of the lower class child is often due to lack of food, but also the lack of clothing, warmth, shelter, and light.²²² This would indicate that the culturally deprived child is physically deprived in a variety of ways, and that this physical deprivation affects, and is affected by, other details of cultural deprivation.

Physical deprivation and school experience.-- The physical deprivation of culturally deprived children is evident in the school setting. Lower class children show a particular disposition for having health problems interfere with school.²²³ Lower class children are more likely to become ill in the first place, and less likely to receive proper treatment when they do become ill. Their housing is more conducive to epidemic diseases; they do not receive proper medical care at home; and if the school recommends any form of medical care, the suggestion is often not followed through in the home. Lower class children often come to school dirty, and the fact that they need medical care is evident.²²⁴ When teachers are too busy to take note of this, the situation can only get worse.

Growth rates and patterns are modifiable by forces within

²²² Honingham, op. cit., p. 322.

²²³ Sexton, op. cit. p. 99.

²²⁴ Ibid., p. 60.

and without the body,²²⁵ and this may include love, care, and understanding as well as food, nutrition, and clean surroundings. If outside forces of cultural deprivation are present when the child enters school, he is likely to suffer loss of appetite, insomnia, and weight loss.²²⁶ But the outside force of school itself also affects the physical growth of the child. If the educational programs can be devised so as to influence social, emotional, and intellectual growth, it can be devised so as to influence physical growth also, or at least to stimulate interest in personal health in the child.²²⁷

Conclusion.-- Though physical maturation is essential to learning, the proper environment is necessary to insure the development of tasks for which the organism is prepared to perform.²²⁸ In other words, a teachable moment occurs at various times in the child's growth when the teacher, or parent, can best teach the child how to perform a developmental task.²²⁹ All development of the body depends ultimately on learning,²³⁰

²²⁵Breckenridge and Vincent, op. cit., p. 8.

²²⁶Ibid., p. 87.

²²⁷R. Andrus and E. L. Harowitz, "The Effects of Nursery School Training: Insecurity Feelings," Child Development, IX (June, 1938), p. 174.

²²⁸Martin and Stendler, op. cit., p. 107.

²²⁹Havighurst, Developmental Tasks and Education, p. 5.

²³⁰Ibid., p. 1.

because one must learn to feed himself to stay nourished, one must learn the social realities of physical behavior to handle physical drives, and one must learn to maintain mental equilibrium to maintain his total body homeostasis. In the culturally deprived environment, the child is deprived both of the physical aspects of body growth, and of the learning experience that is required to teach him how to care for his physical needs.

Dilemma of Cultural Deprivation

School Dilemma.-- The dilemma of cultural deprivation is a complex social problem to which many answers have been addressed. It is not the purpose of this thesis to suggest an educational cure-all for cultural or social problems. However, it is the purpose of this thesis to investigate the effects that cultural deprivation has on school readiness, and the effects that pre-school programs have on the school readiness of culturally deprived children. Therefore, it might be helpful here if attention was given to the relationship of cultural deprivation to school readiness, to some problems posed by this relationship, and to some possible solutions.

Prejudice.-- One particular problem involved in the relationship of cultural deprivation to school readiness is the problem of prejudice. Though some general ideas concerning prejudice toward the culturally deprived child have already been given some attention under the tertiary heading of social

deprivation, it is given additional consideration here because of its relativity to the school situation. Sexton states that opportunities are usually opened or closed to students in accordance with their social class position, rather than their actual school achievement.²³¹ There are various reasons for this.

One reason is that school authorities are often prejudiced in their attitudes and behavior toward the culturally deprived.²³² This prejudice and consequent discrimination may extend all the way from the school board members down to the teachers. A high percentage of school board members are members of the upper or upper-middle classes; the policies they set and the teachers they hire are not likely to take the culturally deprived child into consideration.²³³ School authorities expect more favorable achievements results from children of the upper and middle classes, and as a result, these children are often more motivated to respond to this expectation.²³⁴

School psychologists or guidance counselors often underestimate the abilities of the culturally deprived child, both out of sheer neglect and out of genuine concern.²³⁵ For example,

²³¹ Sexton, op. cit., p. 16.

²³² Riessman, op. cit., pp. 17-19.

²³³ Baughman and Welsh, op. cit., p. 45.

²³⁴ Anastasi, op. cit., p. 511.

²³⁵ Riessman, op. cit., pp. 17-19.

a school guidance counselor may be well aware of cultural prejudice toward a Negro child (and the consequent lack of opportunity in the world for the Negro to gain success), and may therefore discourage a child with adequate ability from trying to better himself or to obtain success. Though the counselor does this in the interest of the child, or so he thinks, it does not help to motivate the child in school.

The entire school culture often overlooks the culturally deprived child and his family.²³⁶ Reading materials in the school are not designed for the background experience of the culturally deprived child; peer discrimination exists and is often encouraged; and clubs and social cliques are set up without the socially deprived child in mind.²³⁷ Well meaning Parent-Teacher Associations often completely ignore the culturally deprived family when planning the association's programs and activities.²³⁸ Intelligence tests are not designed with the culturally deprived child in mind, and neither are the daily tests given in the classroom.

The text books in the schools are written about experiences which are understandable to the middle class child, but not to the culturally deprived child. In fact, all of the materials in

²³⁶ ibid.

²³⁷ ibid.

²³⁸ ibid.

the school are based largely on the experiences and interests of social class groups above the lower class. If lower class children are to learn in school, they must be provided with reading materials that are more suited to their experiences and interests.²³⁹

The much publicized practice of racial discrimination is another evidence of prejudice in the school. This should not be taken lightly. There is danger in letting a child think that the color of his skin and the socio-economic status of his parents are more likely to determine his future than his ability and initiative to learn.²⁴⁰

Other more subtle forms of prejudice and corresponding discrimination such as desiring superior education for the gifted child (if there is no attempt to identify the gifted in the lower class and no effort to educate the mentally slow child as well);²⁴¹ viewing lower class children as a drawback to the school class; or "patronizing" lower class children (that is, looking only at their failures and feeling sorry for them or talking down to them under the disguise of compassion).²⁴²

Perhaps the worst discriminators that operate against the

²³⁹ Sexton, op. cit., p. 28.

²⁴⁰ Erickson, op. cit., p. 260.

²⁴¹ Riessman, op. cit., pp. 17-19.

²⁴² Ibid., p. 22.

education of the culturally deprived are the school teachers, because they are constantly in contact with the culturally deprived children. The turn-over in teachers in schools which have a great proportion of culturally deprived children is greater than in schools with a low proportion of non-culturally deprived children.²⁴³ This is due to the fact that teaching lower class children is not as rewarding, and also to the fact that many teachers are simply afraid to teach a large number of culturally deprived, lower class children. The lower class student has been so often pictured as ignorant, aggressive, uncontrollable, sexually loose, insensitive, and primitive by such portrayals as "Black Board Jungle" that teachers are afraid of the lower class community schools.²⁴⁴ Teachers might show this fear, or some degree of prejudice, by giving lower class children poorer grades on the basis of class distinction rather than on the basis of achievement.²⁴⁵ A more subtle form of teach discrimination is that of giving children "social promotions" to higher grades because the teacher may fear that if she fails too many students, her job will be in jeopardy²⁴⁶...if this practice is done on the basis of social class discrimination, then it is

²⁴³Ibid., pp. 17-19.

²⁴⁴Ibid., p. 25.

²⁴⁵Ibid., pp. 17-19.

²⁴⁶Sexton, op. cit., p. 58.

evidence of social prejudice. Another subtle form of prejudice toward the culturally deprived is found in the school. Children may come from lower class environments with ambivalence toward school (rather than only antagonism, which is overt),²⁴⁷ but when the teacher responds only to the child's hostility, she may cause his feelings to move from ambivalence to pure hostility.

It should be clear, then, that some measures should be taken to prevent such prejudice and discrimination, conscious and unconscious. Perhaps the starting point is to help the culturally deprived children feel that the teacher respects them rather than loves them and to do away with some of the resentful attitudes that teachers have toward the lower class child.²⁴⁸ The school culture does not understand the culture of the culturally deprived because the school does not respect the lower class child enough to try to understand him. The lower class child does not want the teacher to come down to his cultural level, but rather wants the teacher to understand him and his culture so as to help him move to the school's cultural level.²⁴⁹

Good intentions on the part of the teacher are fine, but the teacher must also have a working knowledge of the culturally deprived child's culture, an awareness that cultural discrimination does exist, and a desire to overcome her own prejudice.

²⁴⁷Riessman, op. cit., pp. 17-19. ²⁴⁸Ibid., p. xi.

²⁴⁹Ibid., p. 24.

This does not require that the teacher give up her own cultural standards or even lower her standards.²⁵⁰ It merely requires that she approach her job with all of the professional and personal maturity at her disposal. If she can do this, then she will be helping to bring the school into a closer relationship with the child. Conversely, she will be helping the culturally deprived child to come into a closer relationship to the school, through helping him to rid himself of some of his prejudice, such as anti-intellectualism. Once she has done this, she will be able to help the child avoid school failure.

Class differences and school readiness.-- Schools teach behavior that is more significant to the middle class child than to the culturally deprived child. One reason for this is that parents of middle class children do a better job of preparing their children for school than do parents of culturally deprived children. Riessman states that one reason for the school failures of culturally deprived children is that these children lack education in the home²⁵¹ as parents do not help them with their school work at home.²⁵²

Thus, there is less cultural distance and less conflict between the middle class home and the middle class school than

²⁵⁰Ibid., p. 23. ²⁵¹Ibid., pp. 4-5.

²⁵²Honingman, op. cit., p. 231.

between the middle class school and the lower class home. As a result, middle class children make better grades and are more popular in school while the lower class children make poorer grades, are less popular, and tend to find school difficult. The lower class children may soon be lacking in motivation to succeed in school, and become a truant or a school drop-out.²⁵³

It is helpful to understand the attitudes of the culturally deprived child concerning education. He sees education as an aid to helping him to solve his everyday problems, and he may be more oriented toward the vocational aspects that education affords. He is interested in the more practical and useful aspects of education. The culturally deprived child's world is physically oriented, and he wants to learn to master this physical world; therefore, he is interested in reading, writing, arithmetic, and the physical sciences.²⁵⁴

Overall, the culturally deprived child is not as motivated to obtain an education as the middle class child, and if some motivation is present, he often lacks the ability to meet the middle class expectations of the school. Moreover, if a choice had to be made, the lower class child had rather remain with his family and his peer group than obtain educational success.²⁵⁵

²⁵³ Ibid., pp. 331-332.

²⁵⁴ Riessman, op. cit., pp. 12-14.

²⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 14.

The variation in the background experiences of the culturally deprived child and the school experiences appears to create a discrepancy between the cognitive, perceptual, and emotional development of the child, and the school curriculum expectations. This discrepancy becomes evident in the differences that the culturally deprived child and the school curriculum attaches to verbal clues. This a discontinuity between the conceptual schemes that the child develops in his previous experience and the conceptual schemes employed in the curriculum. These differences make it even more difficult for the child to make adequate grades as he has to span two cultural meanings at one time.²⁵⁶

Toby states since school subjects are cumulative and the culturally deprived child is initially from a deprived background, the child becomes retarded in the basic skills such as reading, and reading is imperative for successful performance in school. School thus becomes uninteresting and the child neglects his studies or drops out of school altogether.²⁵⁷

There are other reasons why the culturally deprived child demonstrates a lack of school readiness. He is poorly motivated to delay immediate gratification for later rewards; he has a low self-esteem; he is often antagonistic toward the teacher;

²⁵⁶ Taba, op. cit., p. 153.

²⁵⁷ Sexton, op. cit., p. 28.

he often has ill health; his family makes frequent residential moves; and his home atmosphere is not conducive to study.²⁵⁸

In the school setting, much of the difference between intelligence test scores for the lower and middle classes is due to the manner in which the tests are devised and administered. The tests are devised so that the lower class child cannot comprehend the meaning of the test material for the tests are based on middle class norms. Moreover, the lower class child is not as motivated to do well on intelligence tests as are middle and upper class children because failure and frustration are common to the culture of the lower class child. School testing measures only test the child's ability to manipulate verbal symbols and this is the area in which lower class children are least stimulated.²⁵⁹ Lower class children invariably have trouble with similarities items, and tend to make literal interpretation of proverbs, on intelligence tests.²⁶⁰ However, if given the performance portion of intelligence, lower class children may actually do better than middle class children here because this part of the test is more closely related to the background experiences of the culturally deprived child.

Why educate the culturally deprived child.-- The fate of

²⁵⁸ Riessman, op. cit., pp. 4-5.

²⁵⁹ Taba, op. cit., p. 151.

²⁶⁰ Tyler, op. cit., pp. 314-326.

our nation depends on the school's ability to teach all of the children under their guidance, and two-thirds of these children are from lower class backgrounds. Although the schools have failed to educate a large number of these culturally deprived children,²⁶¹ additional efforts must be made to educate the lower classes because, next to the home, the school is the best social institution to transform cultural heritage to children. The school has accepted the responsibility of educating the children academically, but it must also seek to educate them civically, socially, and psychologically.²⁶² Since the ability of families to educate their children varies, and since the ability of families to meet the needs of their children varies, the school must compensate in this area.²⁶³

As previously stated, the fate of our nation depends on education, for one main source of manpower is education.²⁶⁴ However, it is important to educate the culturally deprived child for the child's sake also. Our society advocates that each individual deserves the right to seek an education. And the culturally deprived children can be as interested in seeking an education as other children. Moreover, many parents of children

²⁶¹Davis, Social Class Influence Upon Learning, p. 23.

²⁶²Breckenridge and Vincent, op. cit., p. 159.

²⁶³Havighurst, Developmental Tasks and Education, p. 24.

²⁶⁴Riessman, op. cit., p. 2.

who are culturally deprived are interested in their children obtaining an education, even a college education.²⁶⁵

Also, the child's first experiences with education can mold the success or failure of his entire life. The child's first year in school is important because it greatly affects his attitudes toward learning, authority, social institutions, and peer relationships.²⁶⁶ When the lower class child enters school, his attitude toward education is sometimes neutral; it is rare when his attitude is completely negative. His negative attitude begins to emerge when he begins to fail in school.²⁶⁷

Even if his attitude was entirely negative, it would still be important to try to give him an education, for it is to the interest of both the child and the school to combat negative attitudes toward education.²⁶⁸ The school can combat these attitudes because it is the first socializing agent for the child in which he can achieve status on a basis other than biological heritage, at least ideally. In the properly administered school program, the child has an opportunity to succeed on the basis of

²⁶⁵ Ibid., pp. 10-12.

²⁶⁶ Breckenridge and Vincent, op. cit., p. iii.

²⁶⁷ Deutsch, op. cit., pp. 368-369.

²⁶⁸ Riessman, op. cit., p. 2.

his own abilities.²⁶⁹

How to educate the culturally deprived child.-- It should be clear that education is imperative for both the child and society as it gives (or should give) the child the opportunities to make up the home deprivations that he has previously suffered. It should also be clear that it is imperative that society's money be spent early on some form of school or pre-school program that will reduce the need for later expense.

Hosley states that the process of meeting the needs of the culturally deprived child involves the same basic essentials as the education of the non-culturally deprived child.²⁷⁰ In trying to meet the educational needs of the culturally deprived child, one must understand the following: the deficiencies that result from cultural deprivation, the special interests of the culturally deprived (and means of utilizing these interests in teaching methods), and the necessity to have a sincere respect for the efforts of the culturally deprived to cope with their deprived situation.²⁷¹

How to utilize class differences in teaching methods.-- As previously stated, the materials and methods used in the

²⁶⁹Talcott Parsons, Social Structure and Personality (London: Free Press of Glencoe, 1964), p. 133.

²⁷⁰Hosley, op. cit., p. 176.

²⁷¹Riessman, op. cit., p. 129.

school are not oriented to the lower class child. For example, the lower class orientation is physical and visual whereas the school's orientation is aural; the lower class thought is content centered whereas the school thought is form centered; the lower class is problem centered whereas the school is abstract centered; the lower class is externally oriented whereas the school is internally oriented; the lower class is inductively and spatially oriented whereas the school is deductively and temporally oriented; the lower class is slow, patient, and careful whereas the school is quick, flexible, and clever.²⁷²

The only way to utilize these class differences in orientation is to integrate formal language and verbalized teaching methods of the school culture with visual, physical, and active teaching methods that are more applicable to the culturally deprived child. In this way, the child can gradually make the change from one cultural learning experience to another cultural learning experience. The teacher can utilize the child's physical orientation to teach him through such methods as role playing of history stories, role playing to teach arithmetic through playing "store" and "bank", utilization of visual and physical aids, and activity games.²⁷³

The school needs to develop new readers that contain

²⁷²Ibid., pp. 73-80. ²⁷³Ibid., pp. 31-33.

stories of experiences with which the culturally deprived child is more familiar. These readers should make use of the lower class family experiences, lower class humor, and lower class tradition. Music and art need to be directed toward the lower class culture in order for the lower class children to enjoy and understand them. Along with these changes, the school must teach the child the correct way to ask and answer questions, how to form interpersonal relationship, and how to care for his physical body.

The school might find that its difficulties with teaching lower class children would be lessened by "masculinizing" the school. This is important because lower class males tend to view the school as feminine in culture and as therefore an inferior setting to a more masculine job. Schools might accomplish this masculinization by changing the reading matter of the test books to a more masculine style, by changing the mannerisms taught in the school to a more masculine type, and by making an effort to hire more male teachers.²⁷⁴

Teachers cannot do an adequate job of teaching if they attempt to censure the dress, manners, speech, habits, or attitudes of the lower class child, for the child will become aware of the teacher's censorship and be made to feel even more inferior than he already feels; this, in turn, undermines his learning

²⁷⁴ Ibid., pp. 33-34.

ability.²⁷⁵ Nor can the teacher attempt to be overly kind to the lower class child by placing him in special sections of the class, for this demonstrates that the teacher may be placing the child on the basis of his social class standing rather than his academic ability. Moreover, the teacher does not solve the child's problem of having a cultural learning disability by giving the lower class child a "social promotion" to a higher grade, simply to please higher school officials. Even though the child may not be aware of his cultural deprivation in the first grade, with such practices as these by the teacher, he will become aware of his deprivation later in school, and by the fifth or sixth grade, he will have accepted his adult stereotyped role in life.²⁷⁶

The teacher must understand the culture of the culturally deprived child if she is to understand her relationship to him and be able to utilize factors of his particular culture to advantage when teaching him. For example, the teacher can make good use of the lower class virtue of in-group loyalty to build up the child's loyalty to his classmates and to the school. Also, she will be able to see the lower class child's outwardly hostile behavior toward her as not being necessarily indicative of negative feelings toward her, but toward authority figures in

²⁷⁵Baughman and Welsh, op. cit., p. 288.

²⁷⁶Ibid., pp. 228-230.

general.²⁷⁷ She will also be able to utilize the capacity of these children to learn academic material more easily from intimate relationships with peers in the school culture than from formal written materials.²⁷⁸

Actually, any real improvement that comes in the culturally deprived child's school performance usually follows an improvement in his relationship to his teacher. The teacher must use this relationship to help the child master motor and social skills necessary for his own individual optimum growth.²⁷⁹

In order to help the culturally deprived child learn, the teacher must be straight-forward, direct, informal, warm, and use definitions of the material being taught which are comprehensible to the child in light of his prior experience. The female teacher needs to be affectionate and maternal, though not overly so. She needs to emphasize cultural values that she has in common with the child, and to avoid those values which are not common, if possible. She needs to be aware of the constant testing that the lower class child does with unfamiliar adults. She must be patient; she must offer encouragement when the child fails, because the lower class child also dislikes

²⁷⁷Riessman, op. cit., p. 8.

²⁷⁸Davis, Social Class Influence Upon Learning, p. 10.

²⁷⁹Gilfillan, op. cit., p. 412.

failure.²⁸⁰ In administering punishment, she should emulate the physical punishment that the child is accustomed to by being firm and authoritarian in their discipline. However, she should not attempt to argue or reason with the child.²⁸¹

Riessman states that perhaps the best type of teacher for the culturally deprived child is the old fashioned, strict, highly structured teacher who has the desire to teach and help children.²⁸² This type of teacher is helpful to the child because she builds concepts that she is teaching from the ground up. What is really needed for the culturally deprived child today is a neat combination of progressive education embodied in the traditional teacher.²⁸³ This model teacher is seldom available today, as school administrators and school teachers are not being adequately prepared to teach lower class children to make the transition from their pre-school culture to the school culture.²⁸⁴

Conclusion.-- Culturally deprived children need more than a mere academic program if they are to be helped to make up their intellectual, social, emotional, and physical deprivation; and various programs have been devised with this fact in mind. Many cities give special assistance to primary grade school children from the slums on the theory that the slums lack the

²⁸⁰Riessman, op. cit., pp. 81-86. ²⁸¹Ibid., p. 46.

²⁸²Ibid., p. 72. ²⁸³Ibid. ²⁸⁴Deutsch, op. cit., p. 354.

proper stimulations for the child to succeed in school. Due to the early development of cognition and language, it has been suggested that the public schools extend their services to children at the age of three or four years, on the assumption that poor environment is the precipitating problem in cultural deprivation and that intellectual development directly affects other areas of development.²⁸⁵

The dilemma of cultural deprivation is complex as far as schools are concerned. Various approaches have been tried by the schools to remedy the problem; the problem still exists. Various suggestions have been offered as to future remedies; these, too, may prove inadequate. It is probable that the pre-school approach is the most logical remedy in light of the findings of this thesis.

Pre-school proposals.-- It is evident that the public schools have thus far failed to fully meet the needs of the culturally deprived child, even academically. At this point, it might be appropriate to consider the respective merits and demerits of pre-school programs which have previously tried to give the culturally deprived child a head start in the public school.

²⁸⁵ Havighurst, Developmental Tasks and Education, pp. 30-38.

Historically, there have been two major movements in the pre-school program area. One of these was the kindergarten movement. It was originally set up to meet the physical needs of children and to introduce them to the school through contact with the child's home. Thus, the kindergarten movement was an extension of the school down to the home. However, this view is presently lost as most kindergartens do not have any contact with the home.²⁸⁶

The second movement was that of the nursery school which began about twenty-years after the kindergarten movement began. The nursery school movement was originally structured for the purpose of studying the growth of children and for serving as a laboratory for teaching child development and family life. However, the nursery school soon became an extension of the home up to the school. It has developed over the years into a careful program which seeks to include the psychological, physical, and social aspects of the home and school, and to integrate the two institutions.

There are numerous studies that demonstrate the value of pre-school or nursery programs. Joel found that the nursery school experience is a great aid in helping the child to grow

²⁸⁶ Breckenridge and Vincent, op. cit., p. 180.

²⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 160.

emotionally and socially, in helping the child to become more independent, and in helping the child to gain more self-control and better school attitudes.²⁸⁸ Walsh found that children who attended nursery school became less inhibited, more spontaneous, and more socialized than children who did not attend nursery school.²⁸⁹ Those children who attended nursery school also developed more initiative, more independence, more self-assertion, and more self-reliance. These children also showed an increase in general curiosity, and took a more active interest in their environment. They also developed better habits of health, and were generally more organized in their behavior. Walsh also found that those children who attended nursery school showed an increase in their acceptance and use of desirable peer traits while children who did not attend nursery school showed an increase in their acceptance and use of less desirable peer traits.²⁹⁰

Another study conducted at the University of Iowa Nursery School showed that the advantages gained by the pre-school (nursery school) experience were maintained throughout the child's

²⁸⁸W. Joel, "The Influence of Nursery School Education Upon Behavior Maturity," Journal of Experimental Education, VIII (December, 1939), p. 165.

²⁸⁹M. E. Walsh, "The Relation of Nursery School Training to the Development of Certain Personality Traits," Child Development, II (March, 1931), pp. 72-73.

²⁹⁰Ibid.

school experience, even until the time of the individual's entrance into college.²⁹¹ However, none of the children in this study were culturally deprived. An additional study was performed in which the children involved were culturally deprived. In this study, children who had the benefit of a pre-school experience in education gained in their intelligence test scores while the children who did not have the benefit of the pre-school experience in education decreased in their intelligence quotients.²⁹² It was concluded that attendance in a nursery school had a greater effect on children from deprived environments than on children from non-deprived environments, and that nursery schools can often help make up the developmental handicaps of culturally deprived children.²⁹³

However, not all studies are this conclusive. Mallay found that attendance in a nursery school brought about an increase in successful behavior, in constructive mental activity, and in attention span.²⁹⁴ However, he states that at least part of this increase was due to maturation, as well as to the children having learned indirectly through experience, and through direct

²⁹¹ Tyler, op. cit., pp. 464-465. ²⁹² Ibid.

²⁹³ Ibid.

²⁹⁴ H. Mallay, "Growth in Social Behavior and Mental Activity After Six Months in Nursery School," Child Development, VI (December, 1935), p. 309.

teaching.²⁹⁵

Allen and Masling found that children who did not attend nursery school tended to view children who did attend nursery school as being more confident, and more free and spontaneous in their expressions than they themselves were.²⁹⁶ They did find, however, that differences between those children who attended nursery and those children who did not attend nursery school did not reach a significant statistical level until the children were in the second grade. This would indicate that pre-school experience does not benefit the child to any great extent until he reaches the second grade.

Anastasi states that training (meaning any act designed to improve performance) usually does not have an effect on individual differences within a group, but differences can be seen in the group as a whole.²⁹⁷ He agrees with Tyler in that he sees nursery schools as having little or no effect on the non-culturally deprived child, but as having an effect on the culturally deprived child.²⁹⁸

Some studies flatly assert that pre-school or nursery

²⁹⁵ Ibid.

²⁹⁶ G. B. Allen and J. M. Masling, "An Evaluation of the Effects of Nursery School Training on Children in the Kindergarten, First and Second Grades," Journal of Educational Research, LI (December, 1957), p. 292.

²⁹⁷ Anastasi, op. cit., pp. 211-212.

²⁹⁸ Ibid.

school programs has no effect whatsoever on the school readiness of the child. Brown and Hunt found that nursery school experience even hinders the child upon entering kindergarten or the first level of formal school learning.²⁹⁹ This is because the nursery school offers the child a freedom of movement and a non-restriction that he cannot maintain when he enters the more highly structured school classroom. Also, the child is encouraged in nursery school to make use of individual initiative, but in the school or kindergarten he is urged to conform to directed and supervised activities. Therefore, the child with nursery school training may become bored in the more formal school setting. Overall, Brown and Hunt did not find nursery school attendance to be beneficial to later kindergarten attendance.³⁰⁰

Conclusion.-- There are certain characteristics that a pre-school program must possess if it is to be beneficial in helping to make up the cultural deprivation of the lower class child. The program needs to professionally integrate social services, education, and health services.³⁰¹ The program must utilize all of the professional resources at its disposal.

²⁹⁹A. W. Brown and R. Hunt, "Relations Between Nursery Attendance and Teacher's Ratings of Some Aspects of Children's Adjustment in Kindergarten," Child Development, XXXII (September, 1961), p. 593.

³⁰⁰Ibid. ³⁰¹Dumpson, op. cit., p. 185.

Another characteristic that is essential to a good pre-school program is that the program must provide a structure in which the culturally deprived child can feel secure. Another characteristic is that there must be a large amount of personal and social interaction between the pupils, and between the individual pupil and the teacher.³⁰² There are other characteristics that could be cited, but the essential characteristic of a good pre-school program is one which supplies the child with the cultural stimulation that he has lacked until the time of entering school. This cultural stimulation would include the details of intellectual stimulation, social stimulation, emotional stimulation, and physical stimulation that the lower class child does not have in his normal environment. In any case, a good pre-school program is based on early intervention with a structured program that is designed to prevent further cultural deprivation.³⁰³

³⁰²M. E. Bonney and E. L. Nicholson, "Comparative Social Adjustments of Elementary School Pupils with and without Pre-School Training," Child Development, XXIX (March, 1958), p. 131.

³⁰³Deutsch, op. cit., p. 369.

CHAPTER III

PRESENTATION OF DATA

School Readiness Test Results

Head Start experience.-- In order to determine the influence of the Head Start program on the school readiness level of the culturally deprived child, the experimental group was administered the PMA test before and after participation in the Head Start program. The post-test mean total quotient PMA score (93.32) was found to be significantly higher than the pre-test mean score (86.56) made by the same children. The resultant t value (81 matched pairs) of 6.19 proves significant at the .001 level of confidence; this demonstrates that the experimental group showed a highly significant improvement. This improvement is attributed to benefits derived through the influence of the Head Start program since standardized test-retest of the measuring instrument reflects no significant difference. Also, extraneous learning stimuli afforded these children during the six-week test period was considered nil.

Control Group I, composed of non-culturally deprived children from middle and high socio-economic negro and white families, was compared with the experimental group in terms of school readiness before and after participation in the Head Start

program to determine the extent the culturally deprived children approximated the school readiness level of the non-culturally deprived children before and after participation in the Head Start program. The PMA test was administered to Control Group I at time of their entrance into the first grade; these twenty-eight children did not participate in the Head Start program. A comparison of the pre- and post-test results (total quotient score) of the experimental group (Head Start children) versus Control Group I is shown in Table 1.

TABLE 1
COMPARISON OF t VALUE SCORES BETWEEN THE
EXPERIMENTAL AND CONTROL GROUPS

Group Testing	t	P
Pre - vs. post-experimental	6.19	.001
Pre-experimental vs. Control Group I	5.20	.001
Post-experimental vs. Control Group I	3.50	.001

The resultant t value of 3.50 between the means of the post scores of the experimental group ($\bar{X} = 91.99$) versus comparable scores of the control group ($\bar{X} = 105.68$) is significant at the .001 level of confidence. This finding indicates that the school readiness level of those children who had participated in the Head Start program was below that of the non-culturally deprived

children in the same community both prior to Head Start experience and, though to a lesser degree, even after exposure to the Head Start experience.

School experience.-- In order to assess the influence of the Head Start program on the school achievement of culturally deprived children during their first experience in a formal school setting; to compare the culturally deprived children with a group of non-culturally deprived children in terms of school readiness (IQ) at the beginning of the school year, at mid-term, and at the end of their first year in school; and to directly compare the culturally deprived children with their classroom peers in terms of school achievement at mid-term first year, and end of first year in school, the PMA test was administered to these groups at the specified time periods.

The mean total PMA IQ score of 99.11 obtained at mid-term testing by the Head Start children was found to be significantly higher than the mean total score of 91.99 made by the same children prior to their entering school. The resultant t value (81 pairs) of 5.79 proves significant at the .001 level of confidence, demonstrating that the experimental group (Head Start Children) showed a highly significant improvement in IQ scores. It is important to note that this highly significant gain in functioning level is over and above the striking gains these same children had previously attained during the course of their Head

Start experience. The mean PMA IQ scores of these disadvantaged children increased from 86.56 to 91.99 ($<.001$) following a six week exposure to the Head Start program. Consequently, the total change is seen to be from 86.56 to 99.11, a matter of 12.55 IQ points. Viewed in another light, the mean functioning intelligence level increased from the dull normal range of intelligence to the middle of the average range (See Table II).

The mean total PMA IQ score of 99.53 obtained at time of completion of the first year in school was not found to be significantly different (.05 level of confidence) from the mean total IQ score obtained at mid-term testing (99.11), but significant at the (.001 level of confidence) when compared with pre-school scores. This finding indicates that the culturally deprived children who participated in Head Start was able to sustain the previously obtained significant gains since their intellectual development was in equal ratio to their chronological development during the latter part of their first year school experience.

Control Group I (composed of non-Head Start children from middle and high socio-economic families) was used to answer the question, "To what extent did the culturally deprived children who participated in the Head Start program approximate the school capacity or IQ level of the non-culturally deprived middle or upper socio-economic class children after completion of the first

semester and the first year in the educational system?". The instrument was administered to Control Group I at the beginning of school, at mid-term, and at the end of their first school year.

The resultant t value of 5.34 between the means of the mid-term scores of the Head Start children versus comparable scores of Control Group I (non-culturally deprived children) is significant at the .001 level of confidence. This finding indicates that the IQ level of those children from a culturally deprived environment who participated in the Head Start program was still significantly below that of non-culturally deprived children from a middle or high socio-economic environment at mid-term first year in the same parish school system even after the culturally deprived children were exposed to the Head Start experience. (See Table II).

A t value of 2.48 between the means of the IQ scores obtained by the Head Start children at end of their first year in the school system and comparable scores of Control Group I (non-culturally deprived children) is significant at the .01 level of confidence. This finding indicates that the IQ level of those children from a culturally deprived environment who participated in the Head Start program was still significantly below that of non-culturally deprived children at the end of the first year. However, the difference was not as great as that reflected at pre-school and mid-term testing.

TABLE II

COMPARISON OF TEST RESULTS BY GROUPS
AT SPECIFIED TEST PERIODS

Measure- ments	Head Start Children (Experimental Group)				Non-Culturally Deprived Children (Control Group I)			
	Pre-Head Start	Pre- School	Mid- Term	End 1st year	Pre- School	Mid- Term	End 1st year	
Mean	86.56	91.99	99.11	99.53	105.68	112.36	108.50	
Standard Deviation		14.70	13.30	12.75	13.55	10.30	11.23	
Median		90.90	99.80	99.80	109.00	114.40	110.12	
Number		81	81	81	28	28	28	

Measure- ment	Classroom Peers (Control Group II)	
	Mid-Term	End 1st Year
Mean	98.37	98.86
Standard Deviation	15.90	16.10
Median	97.95	99.70
Number	126	106

Control Group II, composed of all children in each of the classrooms from four schools that contained the Head Start or experimental group of children was used to compare the Head Start children with their classroom peers. The total of 126 children thus selected afforded a direct comparison of the measured intellectual adequacy of the Head Start group versus their classroom peers with whom they were in direct academic competition. Since no distinction was made as to socio-economic class, the subjects in this group were those classroom peers who happened to be attending the same classroom (through the normal course of events in school assignments by school districts) as those children who had participated in the Head Start program. None of the Control Group II children had attended Head Start; they were tested at mid-term and at termination of the first year in school when the Head Start children were re-tested. The resultant t value of less than 1.00 at both mid-term and end of first year indicates no significant difference in total IQ scores at these test periods between children who participated in the Head Start program and their classroom peers who had not participated in the program.

The outstanding finding of this comparison is that the median and mean IQ level of the Head Start children are slightly higher than comparable scores of their classroom peers, even though the accepted levels of significance were not attained.

(See Table II).

Primary Mental Abilities Test Results

Head Start experience.-- In an attempt to determine what specific primary mental abilities were influenced through the program afforded those children participating in Head Start, the data were analyzed on the basis of results obtained from the four subtests: (1) verbal meaning, (2) number facility, (3) perceptual speed, and (4) spatial relations. A comparison of pre- and post-test results (matched pairs) is shown in Table III.

TABLE III

COMPARISON OF PRE- AND POST-TEST RESULTS ON SELECTED TESTS OF PRIMARY MENTAL ABILITIES

Measurements	Subtests				Total Quotient Score
	Verbal Meaning	Number Facility	Perceptual Speed	Spatial Relations	
Pre-test mean	91.14	84.98	83.41	79.55	86.35
Post-test mean	95.35	90.91	92.50	87.02	93.32
Standard Deviation*	8.33	10.23	13.29	14.49	6.88
Number matched pairs	86.	86.	86.	86.	86.
Student's t ratio	4.67	5.59	6.31	4.76	6.19
p (probability)	.001	.001	.001	.001	.001

*For matched pairs

While all children showed a significant level of improvement, the pre- and post-test means are worthy of analyses (see Figure I). The highest pre- and post-test means and the least

deviation in scores were exhibited in the verbal meaning subtest. Apparently the culturally deprived children included in this sample had received in their home environment a greater ability to understand ideas expressed in words than ability reflected in any other subtest.

Spatial relations, i.e., the ability to visualize objects and figures rotated in space and the relations between them, reflected the lowest pre- and post-test means as well as the greatest deviation spread. Conceptualizations at this level of abstraction are probably not conveyed to the culturally deprived child in his home environment with the same import as other learning stimuli.

The greatest gains were reflected in perceptual speed, i.e., the ability to recognize likenesses and differences between objects or symbols quickly and accurately. The next greatest gain was shown in the number facility subtest, i.e., the ability to work with numbers, to handle simple quantitative problems rapidly and accurately, and to understand and recognize quantitative differences.

School experience.-- In order to determine the influence of the Head Start program on the development of specific primary mental abilities during the Head Start children's first term in school, the data were analyzed on the basis of the four subtests:

(1) verbal meaning (2) number facility (3) perceptual speed, and (4) spatial relations at mid-term (four month interval) and at termination of the first school year (see Table IV).

TABLE IV

COMPARISON OF PRE-SCHOOL AND MID-TERM TEST RESULTS
ON SELECTED TESTS OF PRIMARY MENTAL ABILITIES

Measurements	Subtests				Total Quotient Score
	Verbal Meaning	Number Facility	Perceptual Speed	Spatial Relations	
Pre-school mean	95.35	90.91	92.50	87.02	90.99
Mid-term mean	96.70	103.35	107.73	92.91	99.11
Standard deviation*	6.91	16.76	11.45	14.97	13.30
Number matched pairs	81	81	81	81	81
Student's t ratio	1.75	6.65	11.90	3.52	5.79
p (probability)	n.s.	.001	.001	.001	.001

*For matched pairs

The children showed a significant level of improvement in all subtests, with the exception of the verbal meaning subtest. Though the verbal meaning subtest exhibited the highest pre-school (post-Head Start) test mean, it showed the second lowest mid-term test mean, thus demonstrating the least significant improvement.

The spatial relations subtest reflected the lowest pre-school test mean and the lowest mid-term (post-Head Start) test

mean, as well as the second greatest deviation spread. Evidently, the children did not master learning experiences at this level of abstraction even in school.

Again, as in pre- and post-Head Start testing, the perceptual speed subtest reflected the greatest gain. Likewise, the second greatest gain was reflected in the number facility subtest.

In short, gains in primary mental abilities during the Head Start children's first experience in school were similar to gains made during those same children's Head Start experience, with the slight exception that the verbal meaning subtest did not show a significant gain in the first school experience as it did in the Head Start experience.

The only significant improvement by subtest at end of the first year as compared to mid-term testing was in the number facility subtest, and this at the .02 level of confidence. While not significant, the end of year verbal meaning subtest mean score was slightly higher than that of the mid-term testing, a regression, significant at the .001 level of confidence was reflected in both the perceptual speed and spatial relations subtest (see Table V).

TABLE V

COMPARISON OF MID-TERM AND END OF FIRST SCHOOL YEAR
TEST RESULTS ON SELECTED TESTS OF
PRIMARY MENTAL ABILITIES

Measurements	Subtests			
	Verbal Meaning	Number Facility	Perceptual Speed	Spatial Relations
Mid-term mean	96.70	103.35	107.73	92.91
End 1st year mean	96.86	107.28	102.75	89.83
Standard deviation*	6.92	14.71	10.21	9.75
Number matched pairs	81	81	81	81
Student's t ratio	<1.00	2.39	4.37	2.83
p (probability)	n.s.	.02	.001	.001

Cultural-Socio-Economic Differences
In School Readiness Test Results

Head Start experience.-- An effort was made to determine the influence of cultural-socio-economic status differences on school readiness and to determine what areas in primary mental abilities were influenced by the Head Start program in light of cultural-socio-economic status differences, through the administration of the full scale PMA and the selected subtests of the PMA, respectively.

Full scale PMA.-- In order to determine the influence of the differences in cultural-socio-economic status upon school

readiness, the full scale PMA was administered to the four experimental groups before and after participation in the Head Start program; comparisons were made of the scores of these groups (see Table VI). The most significant level of improvement was shown by Group I, composed of children from a high socio-economic Negro neighborhood; the least significant level of improvement was shown by Group IV, composed of children from a low socio-economic white neighborhood. Group II, composed of children from a high socio-economic white neighborhood, and Group III, composed of children from a low socio-economic Negro neighborhood, reflected the same level of significance in improvement. The pre-test means of all four groups were below the mean of the

TABLE VI

COMPARISON OF FULL-SCALE PMA SCORES BEFORE AND AFTER
PARTICIPATION IN HEAD START

Measurements	Groups				Control Group
	Group I (H-N)	Group II (H-W)	Group III (L-N)	Group IV (L-W)	
Pre-test mean	80.65	103.94	80.04	85.10	104.50
Post-test mean	85.81	109.39	84.39	88.63	
Mean increase	5.16	5.45	4.35	3.53	
Number matched pairs	26	18	23	19	26
Student's t ratio	4.41	3.43	3.22	1.97	
p (probability)	.001	.01	.01	.10	

control group composed of non-culturally deprived middle and high socio-economic children, both Negro and white, who were scheduled to enter the first grade simultaneously with the culturally deprived children, and who did not participate in Head Start.

Further, only the post-test mean of those Head Start children from a high socio-economic white neighborhood surpassed the mean of the Control Group. The pre-test mean of this group was considerably higher than that of the other groups.

These findings indicate that the children participating in the Head Start program improved in school readiness as a result of the program. This study further demonstrates that the school readiness of children from the identified cultural-socio-economic neighborhoods differed.

The pre- and post-test means of the experimental groups present enlightening data when compared with the mean of the control group (non-culturally deprived children). Group II, composed of children from the high socio-economic white neighborhood, reflected a pre-test mean (103.94) comparable with that of the control group (104.50) and a post-test mean (109.39) exceeding that of the control group. The pre- and post-test mean of the other groups were considerably below that of the control group.

Selected primary mental abilities.-- In an attempt to determine what areas in primary mental abilities were influenced

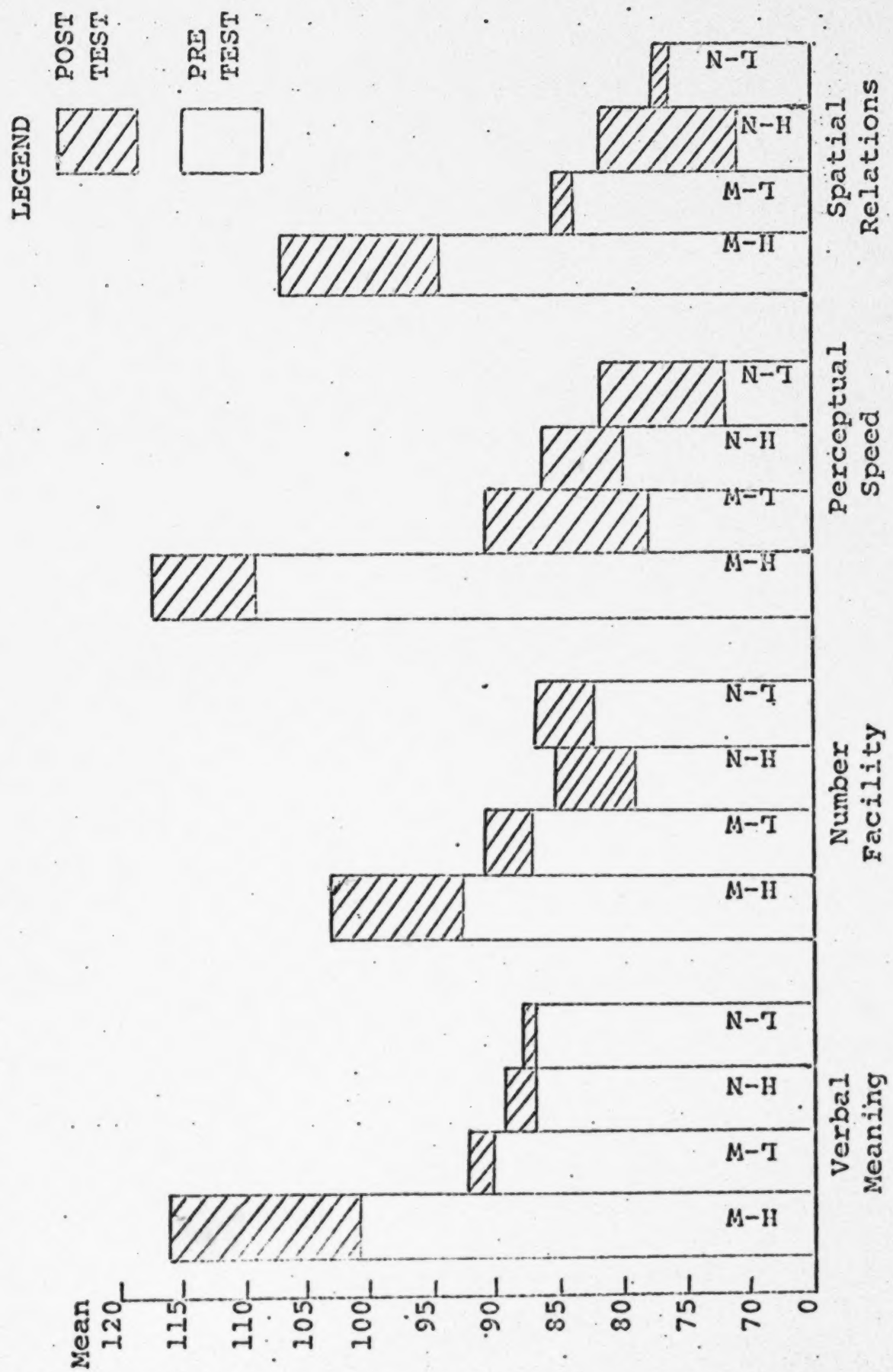
by the Head Start program in light of cultural-socio-economic status differences, data was analyzed by cultural-socio-economic groups on the basis of results obtained from the four subtests of the PMA. These four subtests include: (1) verbal meaning, (2) number facility (3) perceptual speed, and (4) spatial relations. A comparison of pre- and post-Head Start test results, by subtests, are shown in Table VII. (also see Figure 1).

TABLE VII

COMPARISON OF t VALUE SCORES BETWEEN PRE- AND POST-HEAD START TEST SCORES BY SELECTED TESTS OF PRIMARY MENTAL ABILITIES

Groups	Subtests					Total Quotient Score
	Verbal Meaning	Number Facility	Perceptual Speed	Spatial Relations		
Group I (High-Negro)	<u>t</u>	1.16	2.99	3.11	4.45	4.4
	<u>p</u>	n.s.	.01	.01	.001	.001
Group II (High-White)	<u>t</u>	6.34	4.32	2.21	4.27	3.43
	<u>p</u>	.001	.001	.05	.001	.01
Group III (Low-Negro)	<u>t</u>	1.00	2.64	3.39	<1.00	3.22
	<u>p</u>	n.s.	.02	.01	n.s.	.01
Group IV (Low-White)	<u>t</u>	1.01	1.40	3.87	<1.00	1.97
	<u>p</u>	n.s.	.20	.001	n.s.	.10

FIGURE 2
COMPARISON OF PRE- AND POST-PRIMARY MENTAL ABILITY SUBTEST SCORES
BY CULTURAL SOCIO-ECONOMIC GROUPS



The subtest of verbal meaning was used to measure the ability to understand ideas expressed in words. A comparison of the pre- and post-test results of the groups on the verbal meaning subtest are shown in Table VIII.

TABLE VIII

COMPARISON OF PRE- AND POST-HEAD START TEST RESULTS
ON VERBAL MEANING SUBTEST

	Experimental Groups				Control Group
	Group I (H-N)	Group II (H-W)	Group III (L-N)	Group IV (L-W)	
Pre-test mean	87.46	101.61	87.48	90.68	106.08
Post-test mean	89.34	116.00	88.22	92.58	
Standard deviation*	8.19	12.53	6.95	5.95	
Number matched pairs	26.	18.	23.	19.	26.
Student's <u>t</u> ratio	1.16	6.34	<1.00	1.01	
p (probability)	n.s.	.001	n.s.	n.s.	

*For matched pairs

Group II, composed of children from a predominantly non-culturally deprived neighborhood was the only group reflecting a significant improvement in verbal meaning. While the pre-test mean of this group was lower than the mean of the control group, the post-test mean was considerably higher. The pre- and

post-test means of the other groups were lower than the mean of the control group.

The subtest of number facility was used to measure the ability to work with numbers, to handle simple quantitative problems rapidly and accurately, and to understand and recognize quantitative differences. A comparison of the pre- and post-test of the groups on the number facility subtest are shown in Table IX.

TABLE IX

COMPARISON OF PRE- AND POST-HEAD-START TEST RESULTS
ON NUMBER FACILITY SUBTEST

Measurements	Experimental Groups				Control Group
	Group I (H-N)	Group II (H-W)	Group III (L-N)	Group IV (L-W)	
Pre-test mean	79.35	92.89	82.39	87.26	106.58
Post-test mean	85.54	103.39	87.17	90.95	
Standard deviation*	12.03	13.21	9.47	12.14	
Number matched pairs	26.	18.	23.	19.	26.
Student's t ratio	2.99	4.32	2.64	1.40	
p (probability)	.01	.001	.02	.20	

*For matched pairs

All groups, with the exception of children from the culturally deprived low-white neighborhood, reflected a high level.

of improvement. Both the pre- and post-test means of all the experimental groups fell below that of the control group.

The subtest of perceptual speed was used to measure the ability to recognize likenesses and differences between objects and symbols quickly and accurately. A comparison of the pre- and post-test results of the groups on the perceptual speed subtest are shown in Table X.

TABLE X

COMPARISON OF PRE- AND POST-HEAD START TEST RESULTS
ON PERCEPTUAL SPEED SUBTEST

Measurements	Experimental Groups				Control
	Group I (H-N)	Group II (H-W)	Group III (L-N)	Group IV (L-W)	
Pre-test mean	79.85	109.22	71.74	77.85	104.96
Post-test mean	86.31	117.00	81.78	90.74	
Standard deviation*	12.03	16.78	16.95	18.58	
Number of matched pairs	26.	18.	23.	19.	26
Student's t ratio	3.11	2.21	3.39	3.87	
p (Probability)	.01	.05	.01	.001	

* For matched pairs

All groups showed significant improvement in perceptual speed with the children from the low-white socio-economic

neighborhood reflecting the greatest change. Children from the high-white socio-economic neighborhood reflected the least change. However, their pre- and post-test means were considerably above that of the control group. The pre- and post-test means of the other groups were considerably below that of the control group.

The subtest of spatial relations was used to measure the ability to visualize objects and figures in space and the relations between them. A comparison of the pre- and post-test results of the groups on the spatial relations subtests are shown in Table XI.

TABLE XI

COMPARISON OF PRE- AND POST-HEAD START TEST RESULTS
ON SPATIAL RELATIONS SUBTEST

Measurements	Experimental Groups				Control Group
	Group I (H-N)	Group II (H-W)	Group III (L-N)	Group IV (L-W)	
Pre-test mean	68.73	94.39	76.43	84.05	102.54
Post-test mean	82.27	107.11	77.65	85.84	
Standard deviation*	20.04	17.33	14.29	10.18	
Number matched pairs	26.	18.	23.	19.	26.
Student's t ratio	4.45	4.27	<1.00	<1.00	
p (Probability)	.001	.001	----	----	

*For matched pairs

The children from both the high Negro and high white socio-economic neighborhoods showed an exceedingly high degree of improvement in spatial relations. Children from the low Negro and low white socio-economic neighborhoods showed no improvement in this area. The post-test mean of the high white socio-economic group surpassed the mean of the control group. The pre- and post-test means of the other groups were considerably lower than that of the control group.

In comparing all subtest, the most significant overall gain, was on the perceptual speed subtest, with all groups achieving the .05 level of confidence in improvement. The number facility subtest reflected the next highest level of improvement with three of the four groups reflecting improvement at the .05 level of confidence. The low-white group achieved improvement at the .20 level of confidence. In the spatial relations subtest, both groups of children from non-culturally deprived neighborhoods showed improvement at the .001 level of confidence. The other two groups, from culturally deprived neighborhoods showed no significant gain in spatial relations ability. Only those children from non-culturally deprived white neighborhoods showed improvement in the verbal meaning subtest and this was at a significantly high level of confidence ($p \leq .001$).

By subtests, in only one instance did the pre-test mean score of any experimental group exceed that of the control group.

In the perceptual speed subtest, the pre-test mean score of children from the high socio-economic white neighborhood surpassed the mean score of the control group. The post-test mean scores of this group exceeded that of the control group in three of the four subtests: verbal meaning, perceptual speed, and spatial relations. The post-test means of the other groups did not exceed the mean of the control group on any of the subtests.

School experience.-- An effort was made to determine the influence of cultural-socio-economic status differences upon school achievement through the administration of the full scale PMA and the selected subtests of the PMA, respectively, at mid-term (four month interval) and at completion of the first year in the educational system.

Full scale PMA.-- In order to determine the influence of differences in cultural-socio-economic status upon school achievement during the Head Start children's first experience in school, the full scale PMA was administered to the four experimental groups prior to entering school (pre-school), at mid-term, and end of first year in school.

The most significant level of improvement (t ratio) was shown by Group IV (L-W); the least significant level of improvement was shown by Group II (H-W). Groups I (H-N) and III (L-N) showed as equally significant level of improvement with Group IV, although the t ratio of these groups were slightly lower than

TABLE XII

COMPARISON OF PRE-SCHOOL AND MID-TERM TEST RESULTS
OF FULL SCALE PMA BY CULTURAL-SOCIO-ECONOMIC GROUPS

Measurements	Experimental Groups				Control Group
	Group I (H-N)	Group II (H-W)	Group III (L-N)	Group IV (L-W)	
Pre-School mean	85.81	106.10	84.39	88.63	104.50
Mid-term mean	94.22	110.90	90.76	100.00	
Mean increase	8.41	4.80	6.37	11.37	
Standard deviation*	6.87	7.06	5.15	7.65	
Number matched pairs	23	20	17	21	26
Student's <u>t</u> ratio	5.76	2.29	4.98	6.69	
p (Probability)	.001	.05	.001	.001	

* For matched pairs

Group IV (L-W).

With the exception of Group II (H-W), the pre-school test means of all groups were below that of the control group. This was also true for the mid-term test means.

The findings indicate that school achievement of identifiable cultural-socio-economic groups differed. They also show that both the high and low white groups had pre-school and mid-term mean test scores that were above those of both the high and low Negro groups, indicating culture (race) may be a more

determining factor in school achievement than socio-economic factors.

Comparisons between mid-term and end of first year test scores obtained by the different cultural-socio-economic groups showed no significant difference (.05 level of confidence) with the exception that the children from a low socio-economic negro neighborhood showed improvement at the .05 level of confidence. Children from both the low negro and white socio-economic neighborhood reflected gains at the end of the first year over those exhibited at mid-term; children from the high negro and white socio-economic neighborhoods reflected a regression. (See Table XIII.)

TABLE XIII

COMPARISON OF MID-TERM AND END OF FIRST SCHOOL YEAR
TEST RESULTS OF FULL SCALE PMA
BY CULTURAL-SOCIO-ECONOMIC GROUPS

Measurements	Experimental Groups				Control Group
	Group I (H-N)	Group II (H-W)	Group III (L-N)	Group IV (L-W)	
Mid-term mean	94.22	110.90	90.76	100.00	112.36
End 1st year mean	93.52	109.40	93.35	101.71	108.50
Mean Difference -	.70	.50	+2.59	+1.71	
Number	23	20	17	21	28
Student's <u>t</u> ratio	<1.00	<1.00	2.27	1.05	
p (probability)	n.s.	n.s.	.05	n.s.	

Selected primary mental abilities.-- In order to determine the influence of differences in cultural-socio-economic status on school achievement as to primary mental abilities during the Head Start children's first experience in school, these four subtests were administered: (1) verbal meaning, (2) number facility, (3) perceptual speed, and (4) spatial relations.

The subtests were administered to the four experimental groups prior to entering school, at mid-term, and at end of first year in school.

A comparison of the pre-school verbal meaning subtest means and the mid-term verbal meaning subtest means of the experimental groups are shown in Table XIV.

TABLE XIV
COMPARISON OF PRE-SCHOOL AND MID-TERM
VERBAL MEANING SUBTEST SCORES

Measurements	Experimental Groups				Control Group
	Group I (H-N)	Group II (H-W)	Group III (L-N)	Group IV (L-W)	
Pre-school test mean	89.38	109.10	90.88	91.81	106.08
Mid-term test mean	91.39	111.35	89.12	94.71	
Student's t ratio	1.12	1.10	1.36	3.41	
p (probability)	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	.01	

Group IV (L-W) was the only group that reflected a significant level of improvement in verbal meaning. Group III (L-N) actually showed a regression in verbal meaning ability. Only the test mean of Group II (H-W) surpassed the test mean of the control group; however, the test mean of Group II was higher than that of the control group on both the pre-school and mid-term tests. The pre- and post-test means of both white groups exceeded comparable means of both Negro groups.

A comparison of the pre-school number facility subtest means with the mid-term number facility subtest means are shown in Table XV.

TABLE XV

COMPARISON OF PRE-SCHOOL AND MID-TERM
NUMBER FACILITY SUBTEST SCORES

Measurements	Experimental Groups				Control Group
	Group I (H-N)	Group II (H-W)	Group III (L-N)	Group IV (L-W)	
Pre-school test mean	85.25	102.05	90.53	92.48	
Mid-term test mean	98.61	112.55	96.53	105.29	106.58
Student's t ratio	6.10	3.65	2.87	4.82	
p (Probability)	.001	.001	.01	.001	

On the number facility subtest, Group I (H-N) showed the most significant level of improvement in light of t ratios:

however, in terms of probability, Groups II (H-W) and IV (L-W) showed an equally significant level of improvement. Group III (L-N) reflected the least significant level of improvement.

A comparison of the experimental groups' number facility subtest means with that of the control group reveals that no experimental group has a pre-school mean as high as the control group. However, the mid-term subtest mean of Group II (H-W) was higher than that of the control group: also, the mid-term subtest mean of Group IV (L-W) approximated that of the control group although it did not equal or surpass that of the control group.

The most important finding is that all groups showed a highly significant level of improvement on the number facility subtest. Also, as on the verbal meaning subtest, both the high and low white groups had respectively higher means on the pre-school and mid-term testing than did the high and low Negro groups.

A comparison of the pre-school perceptual speed subtest means and the mid-term perceptual speed subtest means are shown in Table XVI.

Although Group I (H-N) showed the most significant level of improvement in terms of t ratio, both Groups I (H-N) and IV (L-W) reflected an equally significant level of improvement in terms of probability. Group II (H-W) did not show a significant

TABLE XVI

COMPARISON OF PRE-SCHOOL AND MID-TERM
PERCEPTUAL SPEED SUBTEST SCORES

Measurements	Experimental Groups				Control Group
	Group I (H-N)	Group II (H-W)	Group III (L-N)	Group IV (L-W)	
Pre-school test mean	86.54	110.45	84.94	93.29	104.96
Mid-term test means	103.61	114.00	93.29	117.95	
Student's t ratio	5.81	<1.00	2.46	4.67	
p. (Probability)	.001	n.s.	.05	.001	

level of improvement; Group III (L-N) showed improvement at the .05 level of confidence.

The pre-school test mean of Group II (H-W) was the only mean to exceed that of the control group. However, the mid-term test mean of both Group II (H-W) and Group IV (L-W) surpassed that of the control group. Again, both the high and low white groups had respectively higher pre-school and mid-term test means than comparable means of the high and low Negro groups.

A comparison of the pre-school spatial relations subtest means and the mid-term spatial relations subtest means are shown in Table XVII.

TABLE XVII

COMPARISON OF PRE-SCHOOL AND MID-TERM
SPATIAL RELATIONS SUBTEST SCORES

Measurements	Experimental Groups				Control Group
	Group I (H-N)	Group II (H-W)	Group III (L-N)	Group IV (L-W)	
Pre-school test mean	81.33	103.60	81.29	85.90	102.54
Mid-term test mean	91.52	104.35	86.12	89.05	
Student's t ratio	2.49	< 1.00	1.60	1.14	
p (Probability)	.05	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	

On the spatial abilities subtest, only Group I (H-N) showed a significant level of improvement; all other groups improved but not to a significant degree. Again, both the high and low white groups had respectively higher means on the pre-school and mid-term testing than did the high and low Negro groups. Only Group II (H-W) had a pre-school and mid-term mean that exceeded that of the control group.

When all groups were compared on all subtests, the most significant gain was on the number facility subtest with three groups achieving at the .001 level of confidence and the fourth group (Group III) achieving at the .01 level of confidence. In other words, the number facility subtest showed the greatest gain in improvement during the children's first term in school, thus supplanting the perceptual speed subtest which showed the

greatest gain in improvement during the Head Start experience.

The next greatest improvement by all groups was demonstrated on the perceptual speed subtest. The least improvement was demonstrated on the spatial relations subtest.

The pre-school mean of Group II (H-W) exceeded the control group mean on all subtests except the number facility subtest. No other experimental group pre-school mean exceeded the control group mean on any subtest. Although the mid-term mean of Group II exceeded that of the control group on all four subtests, no other experimental group mean exceeded that of the control group with the one exception of the low socio-economic white group on perceptual speed. It is important to note that all experimental groups showed some improvement in mean scores (although not always to a significant degree) between their pre-school and mid-term test results with the one exception of Group III (L-N) on the verbal meaning subtest. Group III showed the only regression in mean scores.

As indicated in the full scale PMA test results the children in the different cultural-socio-economic groups were able, at the end of the first year, to maintain the remarkable gains obtained at mid-term testing. Analysis of the selected primary mental abilities subtests reflects similar findings (see Table XVIII).

Children from a high socio-economic negro neighborhood reflected end of first year means lower than that obtained at mid-term testing in all subtests, with the greatest difference being shown in perceptual speed. However, the differences in any subtest was not significant at the .05 level of confidence. Children from the high socio-economic white neighborhood reflected end of year means lower than mid-term means in all subtests except perceptual speed. The regression in number facility and spatial relations subtests were significant at the .05 level of confidence. Children from the low socio-economic Negro neighborhood reflected end of year gains over mid-term scores in all categories except spatial relations. Gains in perceptual speed was significant at the .01 level of confidence. While not significant at the .05 level of confidence, children from the low socio-economic white neighborhood reflected improvement in end of year scores over their mid-term scores in each of the subtests.

It is important to point out that children, both Negro and

white, from the low socio-economic neighborhoods continued, at end of the first year, to show improvement over mid-term test scores in the mental age/chronological age (IQ) ratio while those children, both Negro and white, from the high socio-economic neighborhoods failed to reflect such continued gains.

Only children in Group IV (L-W) showed improvement in spatial relations. Those children in Group III (L-N) and Group IV (L-W), showed improvement in number facility and verbal meaning. All groups with the exception of Group I (H-N) showed improvement in perceptual speed (See Table XVIII).

TABLE XVIII
COMPARISON OF MID-TERM AND END OF FIRST YEAR SUBTEST
SCORES BY CULTURAL-SOCIO-ECONOMIC GROUPS

Groups	Subtests			
	Verbal Meaning	Perceptual Speed	Number Facility	Spatial Relations
Group I (H-N)				
Pre-school	89.38	86.54	85.25	81.33
Mid-term	91.39	103.61	98.61	91.52
End 1st year	89.78	100.30	98.60	90.87
Group II (H-W)				
Pre-school	109.10	110.45	102.05	103.60
Mid-term	111.35	114.00	112.55	104.35
End 1st year	111.00	117.20	108.50	100.30
Group III (L-N)				
Pre-school	90.88	84.94	90.53	81.29
Mid-term	89.12	93.29	96.53	86.12
End 1st year	90.94	105.65	96.59	82.47
Group IV (L-W)				
Pre-school	91.81	93.29	92.48	85.90
Mid-term	94.71	117.95	105.29	89.05
End 1st year	95.95	117.99	106.81	89.67

CHAPTER IV

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary

Introduction to the study.-- Cultural deprivation is the practical deprivation of the respectability, opportunity, and achievement that comes from the mainstream of a given culture.¹ In terms of this study, one is said to be culturally deprived if he experiences the lack of intellectual, social, emotional, and physical stimulation that comes from being a part of the American middle class core culture. Since cultural deprivation abounds in the lower class, both quantitatively and qualitatively, "cultural deprivation" and "lower class" are used interchangeably in this study.

A review of the literature reveals that the school readiness of a child is associated with his previous living experiences. It is therefore important that there be a continuity between the cultural experiences of everyday life and the cultural experiences of formal education.² When such a continuity does

¹Frank Riessman, The Culturally Deprived Child (New York: Harper and Row, 1962), p. 3.

²John Honingman, Culture and Personality (New York: Harper and Row, 1954), p. 181.

not exist, the child will not be developmentally ready to enter school.

The living experiences of the culturally deprived child, supplied mostly through the home, do not provide him with the environmental stimulations needed to enable him to reach the developmental level of the non-culturally deprived child. His living experiences are lacking in adequate intellectual, social, emotional, and physical stimulations; he is developmentally below the non-culturally deprived child in all of these areas. Consequently, the school readiness level of the culturally deprived child is considerably below that of the non-culturally deprived child. This lack of school readiness often results in lack of academic success in school, poor social and/or emotional adjustment in school, poor physical well-being in school, deviant patterns of behavior in school, school drop-outs, and other evidences of failure in school.

School administrators and teachers have, for the most part, ignored the lower class child's failure to meet the standards of the middle class school. Some administrators and teachers have done this consciously in the form of active discrimination. Others have done this subconsciously in the form of passive prejudice. The remaining few administrators and teachers have given attention to the definition of cultural deprivation, the description of cultural deprivation, and the details of cultural

deprivation, but the dilemma of cultural deprivation for the school still exists.

In recent years, professional persons in the educational and social sciences sought not only to recognize the problems of the culturally deprived child and to recommend solutions for these problems, but to also provide active remedies for the alleviation of these problems. In less recent years, kindergarten and nursery school programs were provided to help prepare children for their first experience in formal school settings. However, neither of these programs were designed specifically to meet the needs of the culturally deprived child. The most recent and most effective remedy was provided by the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 and was activated in the form of "Head Start" programs in the summer of 1965. This thesis is concerned with an evaluation of the Head Start program conducted in East Baton Rouge Parish during the summer of 1965 and its influence on the school readiness level of those culturally deprived children who were in attendance.

Purpose of the study.--- The purpose of this study was (1) to determine the influence of the Head Start program on the school readiness level of culturally deprived children, (2) to compare the culturally deprived children with a group of non-culturally deprived children in terms of school readiness before and after participation in the Head Start program, (3) to

determine what specific primary mental abilities were influenced through the program afforded those children participating in Head Start, (4) to compare the culturally deprived children with a group of non-culturally deprived children in terms of school achievement (IQ) at the beginning of the first school year, mid-term, and end of the first school year, (5) to compare the culturally deprived children with their classroom peers in terms of school achievement (IQ) at mid-term and end of the first school year, (6) to determine the influence of differences in cultural-socio-economic status upon school readiness, and (7) to determine what areas in primary mental abilities were influenced by the Head Start program in light of cultural-socio-economic status differences.

Conclusions

Influence of Head Start on school readiness.-- The Head Start program had a positive significant influence on the school readiness level of culturally deprived children who were in attendance. The improvement shown by these children is attributed to benefits derived from attendance in the Head Start program since standardized test-retest of the measuring instrument reflected no significant difference³ and since learning experiences

³Chesteen, et al., "The Effectiveness of the Head Start Program in Enhancing School Readiness." p. 8. (Mimeographed.)

outside the Head Start program were considered to be non-contributory. This improvement verifies that culturally deprived children are receptive to learning stimuli when the stimuli are presented in light of their previous learning experiences.

Degree of approximation after Head Start.-- Although this study demonstrates that the Head Start children more closely approximated the school readiness level of the non-culturally deprived children after participation in the Head Start program than before participation in the program, it does not demonstrate that the Head Start children fully attained the school readiness level of the non-culturally deprived children. However, since some approximation was made, it is concluded that the program was beneficial. Further, it is concluded that a longer and more intensive program might have helped the Head Start children to fully approximate the school readiness level of non-culturally deprived children.

School experience.-- This study demonstrated that the Head Start program had a positive influence on the school achievement of the culturally deprived children who participated in the program during these children's first year in school. The improvement that these same children had previously shown during their Head Start experience was extended into their immediate first experience in school. Their increase in IQ mean scores was from

91.99 at the beginning of their first term in school to 99.53 at the end of their first school year. This is over and above the increase in their mean IQ scores from 86.56 to 91.99 during the course of their Head Start experience. The over-all improvement from the beginning of the Head Start program to end first year is illustrated by noting that these children moved from the mean functioning intelligence level of the dull normal range to the mean functioning intelligence level of the middle of the average range.

Conclusions can also be drawn from this study concerning the comparison of the Head Start children with their classroom peers in terms of school achievement. Although the culturally deprived children can compete successfully with their classroom peers (composed of culturally and non-culturally deprived children) in educational competition, the culturally deprived children are still at a disadvantage in competing with non-culturally deprived children. However, it is encouraging to note that this difference diminished from a .001 level of significant difference at pre-school experience to a .01 level of significant difference at the end of the first school year.

Again, one could not expect the Head Start children to completely overcome all the adverse effects of cultural deprivation in the first year of their school experience, especially when the pre-school program was only six weeks long. It is not known

whether, with additional years of school experience, the Head Start children will gradually approximate the IQ level of the non-culturally deprived children. If they do not, the possibility of their obtaining higher education will be diminished, for at this level of education, they will be thrown into direct competition with individuals who are, for the most part, non-culturally deprived.

Primary mental abilities (Head Start).-- The Head Start program produced a positive effect on the school readiness level of the culturally deprived children who participated in the program, as determined by an analysis of the subtests. There was a significant level of improvement shown on all subtests. The least significant level of improvement but the highest pre-Head Start test means were shown on the verbal subtest, indicating that the children in this study had received more verbal stimulation in their home environments than stimulation measured by any of the other subtests.

It is concluded from an analysis of the pre- and post-test means scores on the spatial relations subtest that culturally deprived children are not taught this level of abstraction in their home environment with the same intensity as other stimuli.

Since the two greatest gains were on the perceptual speed subtest and the number facility subtest, it is concluded that these two abilities are easier for the children to master in a

program such as Head Start. Number facility, though not necessarily a part of the culturally deprived children's home environment, can be easily taught through rote learning which requires a minimum of abstractive ability and a minimum of cultural understanding. Perceptual ability is not an ability that is stressed in the home environment of culturally deprived children, but with some innate intelligence children can swiftly increase their perceptual experiences.

Primary mental abilities (school experience).-- An analysis of this series of subtests reveals that the gains made during the school year were similar to gains made during the Head Start experience. It is concluded that the school experience merely served to further reinforce the benefits derived from the Head Start experience.

Cultural-socio-economic differences.-- This study demonstrated some of the influence of cultural-socio-economic status differences on school readiness, and also shows some finding concerning the influence of the Head Start program on experimental groups that have these differences. The findings of this study demonstrate race was the primary factor in determining differences in the school readiness level of culturally deprived children as to their cultural-socio-economic neighborhoods. This study also demonstrates that the socio-economic level of the neighborhood served as a secondary factor. This finding is interpreted in

light of the geographical region in which the study was conducted. It is likely that regional differences exist; perhaps in a less racially conscious region, this study might have shown socio-economic status to be the major factor rather than cultural (racial) factors.

The school readiness level of the children from both the high and low socio-economic Negro neighborhoods was considerably below the school readiness level of the children from the high and low socio-economic white neighborhoods. Evidently, children from the white neighborhoods were afforded learning stimulations in their home environments not afforded the children from the Negro neighborhoods. The white children, apparently, were exposed to a wider range of living experiences, thus a wider range of learning stimuli, than the Negro children.

Within the cultural or racial environment, the socio-economic neighborhood was a distinguishing factor in determining school readiness. The school readiness level of children from the low socio-economic white neighborhood was considerably below that of the children from the high socio-economic white neighborhood. Children from the low socio-economic Negro neighborhood reflected a lower level of school readiness than those children from the high socio-economic Negro neighborhood. Within the limitations already imposed by culture or race, socio-economic status sets further limits to the range of learning stimuli to

which children from the various identified groups are exposed.

As shown, children from the high socio-economic white neighborhoods were afforded the widest range of living experiences and learning stimuli; therefore, they showed a greater readiness for school than any other group. These children had the double advantage of favorable cultural or racial conditions and favorable socio-economic status.

Children from the low socio-economic white neighborhood group, while not culturally or racially restricted, lack the socio-economic status of the children from the high socio-economic white neighborhood. Children from the high socio-economic Negro group, while not economically restricted, are racially restricted in that the social environment does not allow them to participate in as wide a range of living experiences as that afforded children from a white neighborhood. Children from the low socio-economic Negro neighborhood are the most severely deprived since they have the double disadvantage of cultural restriction and socio-economic restriction of living experiences. A final note might be made that all of these groups were favorably influenced by the Head Start experience.

Full scale PMA (school experience).-- The most significant level of improvement (according to t ratios) was shown by the low socio-economic white group. They came to the Head Start program with more already established intellectual ability than any

other group with the exception of the high socio-economic white group. Thus, the experiences afforded in Head Start might have been more familiar to their native environment and the possibility of their internalizing these experiences was increased. Finally, the low socio-economic white group were not required to span the racial or cultural difference between their home experience and their Head Start experience as were the Negro groups.

Since the high socio-economic white group had the highest initial test score, they had less experimental distance to make up between their native environments and the Head Start environment. Therefore, they did not improve as much as the other groups because they were closer to the attaining of the Head Start experimental level initially.

An analysis of the Head Start children's school achievement indicated that culture (race) was a greater variable in influencing school achievement than socio-economic status. Socio-economic status was again found to be a secondary factor, operating more within racial groups than between racial groups.

Selected primary mental abilities.-- As to distinctions in primary mental abilities as shown by the subtests, no specific conclusions can be drawn from the data presented other than the findings that have already been presented. However, some general interpretations can be made.

In a comparison of the subtests, the greatest gains were

shown on the perceptual speed subtest because of the increased range of perceptual experiences afforded. This was especially true of the children from the low socio-economic Negro and white neighborhoods and the high Negro group (whose perceptual range was previously limited by racial factors). The number facility subtest reflected the next highest level of improvement perhaps because this was the one subtest in which children used primarily rote learning. It is concluded that cultural-socio-economic factors do not have as an adverse affect on abilities that require rote learning as abilities that require more advanced learning. The two groups of children from non-culturally deprived neighborhoods showed improvement in spatial relations while the two groups of children from culturally deprived neighborhoods did not; it is assumed that the children from non-culturally deprived neighborhoods had more experience in abstract thinking in their home environments. Only those children from non-culturally deprived white neighborhoods showed improvement in the verbal meaning subtest; this is because the experimental distance in verbal meaning between home environments and the Head Start environment was too great for the other groups to overcome.

By subtests in only one instance did the pre-test mean score of an experimental group exceed that of the control group, composed of middle and high socio-economic Negro and white children. The mean score of the high socio-economic white group

exceeded the mean score of the control group; indicating that only this group was provided with as wide a range of perceptual experiences in their home environment as was the control group.

Since the post-test means of the other experimental groups did not exceed the mean of the control group on any of the subtests, it might be concluded that this particular Head Start program did not help the culturally deprived and/or racially deprived children to fully approximate the achievement level of the control group in verbal meaning ability, perceptual speed, number facility, or spatial relations.

Recommendations

The lack of stimulation in the living experience of the culturally deprived children is evident, and unless some pre-school program intervenes to make up the resulting developmental deficit, these children are likely to experience a deprivation in educational experience to complicate their deprivation in other life experiences. Such a pre-school program is in the interest of both students (culturally deprived) and teachers. Teachers are familiar with the inherent difficulties involved in trying to teach children with a wide range of intellectual, social, emotional, and physical differences.

The background literature surveyed for this study reveals that a pre-school program similar to Head Start reduces these differences considerably; it also suggests that a more intensive,

long-range pre-school program might do away with the effects of environmental differences to an even more significant degree. This study supports the general findings of the literature in that the pre-school Head Start program did tend to reduce differences in school readiness and in school achievement between culturally deprived children.

The study was particularly demonstrative in terms of intellectual development. Teachers are well aware of the difference in teaching a class with a measured IQ range of 86.56 to 105.68 versus teaching a class with a measured IQ range of 91.99 to 105.68. The former figures indicate the pre-Head Start intellectual performance of the culturally deprived children and the latter figures indicate the post-Head Start intellectual performance of these same children; both are compared to the intellectual performance of the non-culturally deprived children.⁴

This study was not so demonstrative in terms of social, emotional, and physical development. This was due in part to the measuring instrument used and in part to the particular areas of development that the study was designed to measure, that is, "school readiness" and "school achievement". Future studies

⁴Chesteen, et al., "An Evaluation of the School Achievement of Head Start Children" p. 11. (Mimeographed.)

might want to empirically demonstrate more clearly the extent to which a pre-school program such as Head Start can positively influence the social, emotional, and physical development of the culturally deprived child.

This study also supports the revelations of the literature in that it strongly indicates that a more intensive, long-range program is needed to help the culturally deprived children attain the developmental school readiness of the non-culturally deprived children. It is evident, at this point, that the culturally deprived children made significant gains in attaining this level of school readiness through participation in a pre-school program that lasted only a few short weeks. Therefore, it is not hard to visualize the even greater gains that might be made by culturally deprived children through participation in a program provided for them at an even earlier age of development. The literature gives some indication that such a long-range program would have tremendous implications for the school readiness level of culturally deprived children if the program was provided at as early an age as three years. The present study tends to support this idea. Perhaps future studies might document this.

The literature suggests that cultural factors play as great a role, if not greater, in determining cultural deprivation and consequent school readiness of culturally deprived children as do socio-economic factors. This study shows that cultural

factors play a greater role in determining cultural deprivation and consequent school readiness than do socio-economic factors. Socio-economic factors tend to serve only as secondary determinants. This has strong implications for the administration of the Head Start programs. In short, careful consideration needs to be given to the fact that Head Start programs and Head Start administrators and teachers need to be free from the cultural restraints which the child faced in his home environment.

The authors of this study are aware of the possibility that regional differences might have had an influence on the findings of this study, particularly on the findings which were concerned with cultural-socio-economic status. For this reason and because more research needs to be done in the area of cultural-socio-economic differences as they affect school readiness (both theoretically and empirically), it is recommended that more studies similar to this study be conducted in the future. If such studies are conducted over many regional areas and over many years, perhaps the regional variable and the longitudinal variable can be at least partially eliminated.

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